

VOLUME XXXVIII

NUMBER 4

October 1943

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

A Quarterly Journal devoted to re-
search in the Languages, Literatures,
History, and Life of Classical Antiquity

THE UNIVERSITY of CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

EDITORS

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN, *Managing Editor*

CHARLES HENRY BEESON
ROBERT JOHNSON BONNER
BLANCHE BEATRICE BOYER

CARL DARLING BUCK
FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON
GORDON JENNINGS LAING

RICHARD P. McKEON
GERTRUDE SMITH
BERTHOLD LOUIS ULLMAN

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

CAMPBELL BONNER, *University of Michigan*
GEORGE LINCOLN HENDRICKSON, *Yale University*
WERNER JAEGER, *Harvard University*

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE, *Harvard University*
KENNETH SCOTT, *Western Reserve University*
ANDREW FLEMING WEST, *Princeton University*

VOL. XXXVIII

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1943

No. 4

The Early Athenian Tribute Lists	B. D. Meritt	223
Livy in the <i>Ara Pietatis Augustae</i> ?	Vincent M. Scramuzza	240
<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , II, 508, Part II: Discussion	J. A. O. Larsen	246
Notes and Discussions		256
GRACE B. RUCK: "Longinus" Criticism of Theocritus (<i>Hept. 4</i>).—MARIAN HARMAN: A Greek Proverb in Milton.—BENEDICT EINARSON: Plato in Meleager's Garland.—ANNE TURNER: A Vergilian Anecdote in Suetonius and Dio.—H. J. ROSE: Apollo and Sol Again.		
Book Reviews		262
E. W. SUTTON and H. RACKHAM (trans.): <i>Cicero: De oratore, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoris</i> (Ullman).—EDWARD KENNARD RAND: <i>The Building of Eternal Rome</i> (Laistner).—WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD and STANLEY BARNEY SMITH (eds.): <i>T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex</i> (De Lacy).—T. R. GLOVER: <i>The Challenge of the Greek (D'Alema)</i> .—ALAN M. G. LITTLE: <i>Myth and Society in Attic Drama</i> (Norwood).—SHIRLEY H. WEBER (ed.): <i>Schliemann's First Visit to America, 1850-51</i> (Roebuck).—WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR: <i>Observations on the Hephaestion</i> (Johnson).—EDITH HALL DOHAN: <i>Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum</i> (Johnson).—LOUIS C. WEST: <i>Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire</i> (Broughton).—W. H. FYFE (ed.): <i>Aristotle's Art of Poetry</i> (Godolphin).—CHARLES EDWARD SMITH: <i>Tiberius and the Roman Empire</i> (Oldfather).—LAURENCE LEE HOWE: <i>The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian (A.D. 180-305)</i> (Laistner).—NORMAN J. DEWITT: <i>Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul</i> (Larsen).—MARY KATHRYN GLICK: <i>Studies in Colloquial Exaggeration in Roman Comedy</i> (Hough).		
Books Received		280
Index to Volume XXXVIII		281

Classical Philology is published quarterly in the months of January, April, July, and October, by the University of Chicago at the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The subscription price is \$4.00 per year; the price of single copies is \$1.25. Orders for service of less than a full year will be charged at the single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States and its possessions, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Republic of Honduras, Mexico, Morocco (Spanish Zone), Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Rio de Oro, El Salvador, Spain (including Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, and the Spanish Offices in Northern Africa: Andorra), Spanish Guinea, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Postage is charged extra as follows: For Canada and Newfoundland, 16 cents on annual subscription (total \$4.16), on single copies, 4 cents (total \$1.29); for all other countries in the Postal Union 40 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$4.40), on single copies, 10 cents (total \$1.35). Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to the University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized agents:

For the British Empire, except North America, India, and Australasia: THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England. Prices of yearly subscriptions and of single copies may be had on application.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts, which must be typewritten, should be addressed to the Editor of CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

The articles in this journal are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals, New York, N.Y.

Applications for permission to quote from this journal should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, and will be freely granted.

Entered as second-class matter June 20, 1906, at the post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in United States Postal Act of October 3, 1917, Section 1103, amended February 28, 1925, authorized June 6, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

Y

N

erality
vity
iserialy

No. 4

223

240

246

256

262

280

281

ty of
year;
stage
Co-
occo
nary
ze is
pies,
ngle
ress

ttley
d on
ubub-
cock

LAS-

and

912.
tion

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Volume XXXVIII

OCTOBER 1943

Number 4

THE EARLY ATHENIAN TRIBUTE LISTS

B. D. MERITT

STUDENTS of Athenian history have written copiously of late on the problems of the Athenian empire, and in particular the epigraphists have been busy with new interpretations of the old texts and their reconstruction. The net gain at times has been great, and at times it has amounted to very little; but one must examine claims to new discovery, as they are systematically set forth, in the attempt to come to some conservative judgment about them.

Last year in this *Journal* Sterling Dow began a series of articles entitled "Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists." His first contribution was concerned principally with the postscript of List 1 and with the prescripts of Lists 8 and 15.¹ The pertinent texts in Lists 1 and 15 were used by him in a preliminary way as part of the evidence for the determination of the text in the prescript of List 8. What Dow sought to prove was that List 8 was not in reality List 8 at all but List 7, and that the epigraphical evidence favors restoration of the prescript with a length of line of 22 letters, as follows:

448/7	Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀ[ρχῆς τῆς ἡεβδόμης] ἡὲ Διοδ[. . . ἐγραμμάτευε] [Π]αιονί[δες]	Loose Stolch. 22
-------	--	------------------------

¹ The texts are cited here as published in Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

This idea was not first expressed by Dow, for it had already been advocated by Silvio Accame in *Riv. di fil.*, XVI (1938), 412-13,² and tentatively suggested by A. W. Gomme in *Cl. Rev.*, LIV (1940), 66. Dow has now taken up Gomme's suggestion and categorically rejected an alternative restoration of the prescript with only 20 letter spaces in each line, as preferred by the editors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, claiming that it would thus be epigraphically unsound. The restoration in question was:

447/6	Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀ[ρχῆς τῆς ὀγδόης] ἡὲ Διοδ[es ἐγραμμάτευε] [Π]αιονί[δες].	Loose Stolch. 20
-------	---	------------------------

A drawing to illustrate this restoration was published by Meritt in his *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (69, Fig. 15), about which Dow says that, even if the text were correct, the drawing "is wrong in four important particulars, two of them visible at a glance," and later on that "it is regrettable that errors should have crept in just here." Dow hopes that the rectification of these errors will lead to the establishment of some definitely preferable text, and eventually he comes out in favor of the 22-letter line, which, he claims, carries with it the date 448/7 B.C.

² Apparently unknown to Dow, whose arguments seem to have been developed independently.

This is, consequently, a matter of sufficient importance to be examined again, particularly since the epigraphical method employed seems at times to be no less subject to question than the conclusions to which it has led. For the sake of the argument it may be profitable to approach the problem very much from Dow's point of view, first studying the postscript of List 1 and then the prescript of List 15, before coming to the precise measurements and restorations for the critical prescript of List 8 (as I shall continue to name it) in 447/6 B.C.

I. THE POSTSCRIPT OF LIST 1

Dow has devoted two pages to a demonstration that the text of the postscript of List 1 as printed in the *Documents on Athenian Tribute* is correct. There seems to be general agreement on this point, though I should prefer to claim that the clinching argument for the length of line of 20 letters is not so much the physical regularity of what Dow chooses to call the "strictly stoichedon style," persuasive as this is, as the almost certain inevitability of the restorations $\chi\omicron\rho\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\ \tau\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$: $\kappa[\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ of lines 6-7, a phrase also found in one of the decrees of Kallias of 434 B.C. (*ATL*, Vol. I, D1, l. 24), and $[\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Κυζικ}]εν\delta\acute{o}$: $\kappa[\epsilon]\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ of lines 10-11. Restoration and measurements here work together to establish beyond question the length of line.

One should, however, question Dow's subjective interpretation of how the stonecutter laid out the pattern for this postscript. He notes that, in all, it contained some 259 letters and that, "having so many letters to deal with, the mason would naturally be inclined to reckon carefully, so as to keep his inscription within an exactly calculated space. To do this, he would inevitably lay out a stoi-

chedon plan and would stick to it." At best this interpretation is a mere guess, and it may well be wrong. The postscript of List 1 presumably had available as much space longitudinally on the right lateral face of the stele as List 1 itself occupied on the obverse. This is a conservative estimate, for the four sides of the stone had not yet received the inscriptions of thirteen subsequent years and the amount of available space was for all practical purposes almost unlimited. But one may suppose that the stonecutter did not wish the postscript to extend lower on the stone than the list itself. A glance at the drawings in *ATL*, Volume I, Plates I and II, will show that the 259 letters of the postscript were cut on approximately half the space thus available and that the unused space within these restricted limits was never afterward inscribed. Having once determined on a line of 20 letters, the stonecutter who was charged with cutting the postscript could, if he wished, have allowed himself unprecedented space-consuming vagaries and still have got all the inscription on the amount of stone at his disposal. Circumstances dictated no need either for care or for economy, and nothing—certainly not the 259 letters—had to be "exactly calculated." One may rather suggest that the stonecutter cut the postscript in strict stoichedon pattern simply because he preferred to cut it that way. Obviously he had no occasion, so far as the present evidence shows, either to reckon carefully or to calculate exactly.

One other observation should here be made. Dow claims that in the postscript of List 1 vertical guide lines were drawn to give the strictly stoichedon pattern. He italicizes the word "were" as though there were no doubt about it and sets up a rule or test by which one can tell a stoichedon inscription: "Were vertical lines

drawn?" The test of a stoichedon inscription is the pattern of its letters rather than their dependence on guide lines. The postscript of List 1 is strictly stoichedon, and it is indeed probable that guide lines were employed. But the question of guide lines is secondary to the letter-pattern.

THE PRESCRIPT OF LIST 15

Early last year I communicated to Dow certain observations on the original text of the prescript of List 15. I was able to

bly spurious." The final nu of the name is at the beginning of line 3, and of this Dow says: "In the first space of line 3 faint marks suggest nu, but they cannot positively be said to have the character of chisel strokes." I regard the chi as probable and the nu as quite certain. With the two vertical strokes of the nu precisely spaced and the connecting diagonal running from upper left to lower right, there is only one name for the letter. Within its category it is as certain as the name one

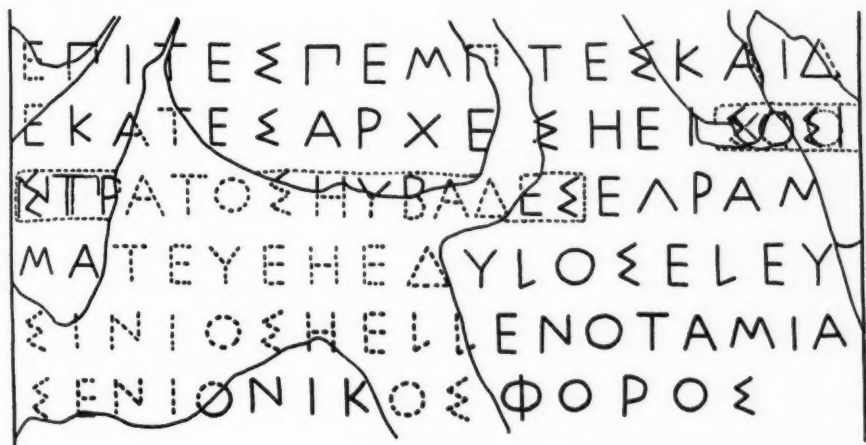


FIG. 1.—The prescript of List 15

give the name of the secretary, including the first letter of his demotic, as it was cut before the erasure in lines 2 and 3, and to assert that Aischylos was not, as universally believed heretofore, the name of the hellenotamias. These observations could not be published before the appearance of Dow's article, and he makes no mention of them. He had quite independently read the letters IO as second and third in the name of the secretary. The complete name was *Xíov*, and the demotic began with Π. In his published article Dow now reports (*CP*, XXXVII [1942], 377) that "faint marks which might belong to the right half of a badly formed chi are proba-

gives when asked what animal has ears like an elephant's, a trunk like an elephant's, and looks and acts like an elephant. The letter is nu and stands clear, though partially erased, with every stroke perceptible. The chi may be read with a dot beneath. In the second letter space of line 3 the letter is clearly pi. Possible restorations are Π[εριθοίδες], Π[αμβοτάδες], and Π[εργασίδες].

The drawing in Figure 1 shows the disposition of the text of the prescript, and illustrates at a glance that [Αίσχ]ύλος cannot be the name of the hellenotamias to be restored in line 4. I suggest, *exempli gratia*, the name [ἡδ]ύλος, with the ob-

servation that in the first five lines of the inscription the stoichedon pattern is consistently followed in the first halves of the lines. The introduction of irregularities in the ends of the lines will be discussed below. At present, one notes that the elimination of Aischylos from this inscription removes from the family tree of the great poet a relative who has always been difficult to explain and for whom the text of this inscription, as restored, has been the only evidence.³

Dow has commented at length on the text and disposition of this prescript and has made several observations, of which at least one is sound. When the name $\chi\iota\omicron\nu\ \Pi[-\text{---}]$ was erased and the name $\Sigma\omicron\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\nu\beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ substituted in its place, the prescript must already have been cut through line 3. Dow thinks (*ibid.*, p. 376): "It is possible that the mason made his correction *immediately* after cutting the letters ΕΑΡΑΜ, but the evidence thus far presented affords no positive reason for or against so believing." This is a just observation. The stoichedon relationship which line 4 bears to line 3 is best explained if line 3 was on the stone in its original form when line 4 was cut. The letters of line 4 fall into the regular stoichedon pattern of the early parts of lines 1, 2, and 3; they could have borne no formal relationship to the crowded lettering of the substitute name $\Sigma\omicron\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\nu\beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$. So line 4 was probably cut before the erasure was made in lines 2 and 3, and it is perhaps safe to go beyond the evidence to claim that the stonecutter finished the entire prescript before making the correction. We do not

know how much time elapsed between the original cutting and the erasure. Dow sums the matter up in a statement with which I concur: "All that can be said is that the letters in the erasure seem to have been inscribed by the same mason who cut all the other letters."

Why was one name erased and another substituted? The editors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* questioned whether this had any connection with the malfeasance of one board of hellenotamiai as mentioned by Antiphon (*περί τοῦ Ἡρώδου φόρου*, 69-71), when all but one of the hellenotamiai, a certain Sosias, were executed. With this suggestion Dow finds difficulties not mentioned by the editors, and he rejects the association. One of the difficulties is that Antiphon said the "older" men would recall the episode and that, since List 15 is dated in 440/39 B.C., the lapse of about twenty-five years, it is claimed, could hardly have restricted the memory of the event to the oldsters. This is, more than anything else, a matter of opinion and definition hardly to be decided *ex cathedra*. It is only twenty-five years between World Wars I and II, yet it is not uncommon to hear the remark that the older generation remembers this or that at the time of the last war. I have recently noted with interest, and merely by way of example in reference to this problem, that H. V. Morton, in his delightful book *I Saw Two Englands*, puts Lord Kitchener almost as much in the past as King Alfred the Great, except, of course, for the oldsters, of whom he was one. It seems that, by some people at least, twenty-five years may, on occasion, be construed as a very long time indeed. The rest of Dow's difficulties are largely hypothetical: "The name of the chairman . . . was not erased. Was he guilty? If he was guilty, why was his name not erased? If he was not guilty, why was the

³ The name $[\Delta\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma]$ has been restored in *JG*, I, 363, ll. 15-16 (cf. *ATL*, Vol. I, p. 187) and correspondingly in the prescript of List 18. If the restoration is correct, he may have been the grandson of the poet, as suggested by the editors of *ATL*. The restoration can no longer be supported by reference to the prescript of List 15. One can say only that if these two names were identical they were not Aischylos.

name of the secretary altered?" etc. This speculation leads to the ambiguous conclusion that the first secretary died in office and that his successor caused his own name to be substituted, or that possibly the successor wrote his own name first and was then compelled by his superiors to substitute the name of his predecessor. Such argument gets nowhere. To come back to the suggestion that the erasure may have had something to do with the executions mentioned by Antiphon, one might posit that the *hellenotamias* (*Hedylos*) belonged to the board of *suffecti* who took over when the first guilty parties were executed, that Chion was the secretary *suffectus*, and that after he had written his name the decision was reached to record the name of the first secretary, who had not been party to the malfeasance but who had been dismissed with the rest of the board. There is no way of knowing the circumstances, and about all that can be said is that in 440/39 there seem to have been two secretaries. Which came first we do not know, nor do we know whether there was any connection with the malfeasance mentioned by Antiphon. It can do no harm to keep the possibility in mind. At least, there is just as little evidence for denying it as there is for its confirmation.

In view of the importance which Dow attaches to his interpretation of the stoichedon order of the prescript of List 15, it will be necessary to review this order here more in detail. Line 1 was inscribed with a placement of letters which the stonecutter seems to have determined according to his ideas of the fitness of spatial considerations. There is some irregularity in spacing, and the thin letter *iota*, which occurs twice in the line, noticeably takes up less space than any other letter. This first line had 17 letters. When line 2 was cut, the stonecutter fol-

lowed a stoichedon arrangement, putting letters one for one under the letters of the line above. So far Dow has understood the prescript correctly, though he prefers not to call the arrangement stoichedon because the stonecutter apparently did not lay out his pattern with guide lines. He urges only that the stonecutter could not altogether escape the influence of the stoichedon design. Dow continues his description as follows:

Actually, he [the stonecutter] succeeded in spacing out the letters in line 1 fairly evenly. The occurrence of an *iota* toward the end of the line enabled him to crowd in a final *delta*. In-scribing line 2, he carefully placed each letter under the one above; line 3 was probably cut in the same manner, except that a *mu* (the uniquely long letter) did not allow him to insert a seventeenth letter—which would have been a second *mu*—at the end. The carelessness which led him to omit the usual vertical lines also led him to crowd the letters in lines [4] and 5 and at the beginning of line 6: he appears to have become apprehensive about using too much space. In line 6 he probably felt that it was desirable to begin the heading *Ἰονικὸς φόρος* directly over the first letter of the name of the first city. Presently, as he reached the letters *ΦΟΡΟΣ* at the end of line 6, he realized that ample space remained.

Beginning with line 4, these observations must be completely revised, together with inferences Dow has drawn from them. There is no ground for imputing "carelessness" to the stonecutter because he omitted guide lines. He was, after all, cutting the inscription according to a pattern of his own choosing. Nor did he crowd letters in lines [4] and 5 and at the beginning of line 6. Nor should one believe that he was so witless as to be apprehensive about using too much space in lines [4], 5, and the beginning of line 6, only to realize when he reached the middle of line 6 that ample space remained. Such attempts to trace the

stonecutter's emotions, blowing now hot, now cold, as he went about his task of cutting six lines of text, belong outside the realm of serious epigraphical commentary; and to claim that he disposed the letters as he did in lines 5 and 6 so that the first letter of Ἴονικός φόρος might fall over the first letter of the name of the first city is to attribute to him a desire demonstrably not in his mind in connection with the other panels of the year. Simple coincidence needs no motivation.

The first significant deviation from a stoichedon pattern occurred in line 4. It is true that only one mu could be cut at the end of line 3 under the two letters IO above it, but otherwise the letters of line 3, whether broad or narrow, had been placed with fair accuracy beneath corresponding letters in line 2.⁴ In line 4 the stone is so preserved that the initial point of the irregularity may be determined. The upsilon in [ἡεδ]ύλος is still precisely in its stoichos; the lambda which follows, as well as every succeeding letter, falls in an interspace (see Fig. 1). The Attic lambda here exhibits one of its characteristics, namely, that it has a tendency to adapt itself to narrow spacing much as does the narrow letter *par excellence*, iota. This tendency manifests itself again in the second lambda of line 4 (to a less degree) and in the double lambda of line 5. For the tribute lists it finds its classic expression in the first line of List 1, where the three letters ΕΛΛ[ενο]-αμίων occupy only two letter spaces (cf. *ATL*, Vol. I, Pl. III). Thus it comes about that line 4 has 17 letters, as against the 16 of line 3, and that line 5 has 18 letters, as against the 17 of line 4.

⁴ The erasure in l. 3 extends to the right well into the interspace beneath the ζ and the Η above. This was probably not occasioned by the presence of a letter in the interspace which had to be erased but rather by the stonecutter's desire to make a new bed with as much room as possible for the new name.

There is no undue crowding, and the irregularities are confined to the ends of the lines. Even line 5, which has two iotas near its beginning, maintains its stoichedon order as far as the lambdas of ἡ[ελ]λενοταμία[s], for the initial rough breathing of this word is precisely under the seventh letters in lines 1 and 2, where the stone is preserved.

It seems, therefore, that the occurrence of iota did not in any instance before the last line mean the abandonment of the stoichedon order. In line 6 the kappa of Ἴονικ[ος] φόρος was drawn to the left in order to provide the appearance of normal spacing. But elsewhere, as at the end of line 2 and at the beginning of line 5, the stoichedon order was preserved. The lines of the inscription number, respectively, 17, 17, 16, 17, 18, and 15 letters—a total of 100 in all. Dow thinks:

If the number of letters had been three times as many, he [the mason] would probably have counted the letters and would then have laid out vertical lines to accommodate them. As it was, he had comparatively few letters to deal with, and being careless he made no count, but began with large letters (0.018 m. high) in what we may call the "loose," i.e., unguided-by-ruled-lines, manner. This he abandoned in line 4 or 5 in favor of greater crowding, which he relaxed only as he finished inserting the heading for the Ionic panel at the very end.

This statement is inexact. The relaxation of spacing at the very end is apparent, but the principles of the "loose" stoichedon order were carried out consistently in the lines above. This style was definitely not abandoned in lines 4 and 5, nor, in view of the narrow valence of lambda, should one claim that these lines were crowded. There is not the slightest evidence of careless workmanship. On the contrary, the inscription from beginning to end was beautifully cut, and the mason was evidently following a familiar pattern.

For a technical expert today to claim that the stonecutter did not know how many letters he had to cut or that he would have followed a different pattern if there had been three times as many is to introduce a disturbing and unwarranted subjective element into the discussion of the text. The stonecutter of 439 B.C. cannot be bound by the psychological strictures of the modern commentator. It would be gratuitous to assume that he did not know precisely the number of letters in the prescript, or that he might not have followed the same "loose" pattern even if they had been many times as many. In the lists of cities immediately below the prescript the mason was dealing with more than a thousand letters, and here even Dow admits that he "neglected" to lay out a stoichedon design or to employ guide lines. But to attribute this nonuse of guide lines to neglect is unfair to the stonecutter, implying as it does a measure of dereliction. One ought, in justice to the mason, to assume that he cut the inscription without guide lines because by intention he preferred it that way.

THE PRESCRIPT OF LIST 8

The study of the texts in the postscript of List 1 and in the prescript of List 15 has only an indirect bearing on the prescript of List 8, but Dow has drawn conclusions as to method, particularly from List 15, which he wishes to apply to List 8. He believes that the mason did not draw vertical guide lines in this three-line prescript, that he spaced lines 1 and 2 in the "loose" stoichedon manner, and that he achieved a pattern almost as accurately stoichedon as if vertical lines had been drawn. The accuracy of the stoichedon pattern is vouched for, according to Dow, by the fact that only one of the eight spaces before and after the preserved iotas is

definitely small.⁶ It is somewhat difficult here to follow the reasoning. Dow speaks of a maximum divergence of 0.0045 m. in the spacings between centers of letters. This is too great to allow us to suppose that vertical guide lines were used. Yet (*op. cit.*, p. 378) he also claims that "because of the unique thinness of iota, observation of its spatial relations to the adjacent letters is always the readiest practical test of whether or not a design is stoichedon." Apparently the criterion of iota almost allows Dow's definition of stoichedon for the prescript; to allow it fully would require (*ibid.*, p. 374) a positive answer to the question "Were vertical lines drawn?" But divergences in spacing between other letters make the use of guide lines improbable. Whether or not this is the way in which the problem should be stated, attention should be called to the analogy of List 15, in which the unique thinness of iota gives it a "loose" spatial relationship five times⁶ and a stoichedon relationship four times.⁷ It will be quite reasonable to expect, therefore, that in any "loose" inscription iota may have been given full spatial value if the mason so chose. It is also important to note that larger letters may have been given less than normal space. This is noticeable in the first line of the prescript of List 8, where E follows closely after T.

With reference to the drawing of the prescript of List 8 which I published in *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (69,

⁶ The space next to iota is, on the preserved part of the stone, twice below the normal, being 0.016 m. after the iota of l. 1 and 0.0138 m. (Dow's measurement) before the second iota of l. 2. This narrow spacing of 0.0138 m. in l. 2 reflects the abnormally close spacing of 0.015 m. between centers of T and E in the line above.

⁷ Twice in l. 1, once in l. 2, once in l. 5 (end of the line), once in l. 6 (the preserved iota).

⁸ Once in l. 2, twice in l. 5, once in l. 6. The examples in ll. 5 and 6 occur in the left half of the inscription, which may *in toto* (at least through l. 5) be described as strictly stoichedon, according to my definition, even without guide lines.

Fig. 15) Dow claims *inter alia* the following two errors: the inequality of margins at the left and at the right (the right margin being wider than the left) and the wider spacing of letters in the restored portion. Dow's solution of these difficulties is to add two letters to my length of line, thus securing symmetrical margins and more closely spaced lettering. Measurements and calculations which he presents make his solution seem highly probable. These must be examined.

Dow starts with the assumption that "our only proper guide is the spacing in the preserved parts of lines 1 and 2." The assumption is correct, provided one is willing to make two reservations: (1) the space of 0.016 m. after iota in line 1 cannot be used as a guide to spacing in the restored part of the line, for it is abnormally narrow, being occasioned by the appearance of the narrow letter iota in the loose stoichedon style, and there are no iotas in the restored part of the line; (2) the space of 0.015 m. between centers of T and E in line 1 is abnormally narrow and must in any calculation be accepted as an outright irregularity. Formerly I averaged these short spaces in with the others and deduced a "normal" space of 0.017 $\frac{1}{2}$ m.; hence my wider margin at the right. Dow averages them in and finds room (almost) to restore two additional letters. He presents a persuasive case, using measurements made for him by John Young and measurements made by me. To find how little space 22 letters will occupy, he has taken whichever measurements were smaller, Young's or mine, and then matched the result with the maximum width of the stone (Young's). In this way the figures for 22 letters show 0.005 m. (left margin, Young) + 0.371 m. (21 spaces between letter centers, Meritt) + 0.007 m. (width of one letter, Dow) + 0.005 m. (right margin, Young)

= 0.388 m. Subtracting Young's figure of 0.3865 m. for the width of the stone, he finds that the 22 letters require only 0.0015 m. ("the thickness of the lead in a lead pencil") more than the space available. Dow concludes, therefore, that "the reckoning favors 22 letters decisively." This decisiveness is illusory. If one were to accept Young's figures consistently, or mine consistently, the averaged measurement for 22 letters in each case would be 0.395 m.:

$$0.005 \text{ m.} + 0.378 \text{ m.} + 0.007 \text{ m.} + 0.005 \text{ m.} \\ = 0.395 \text{ m. (Young),}$$

$$0.012 \text{ m.} + 0.371 \text{ m.} + 0.012 \text{ m.} \\ = 0.395 \text{ m. (Meritt).}$$

This is 0.0085 m., or 0.01 m. in excess of the width of the stone (depending on whether the width be taken as 0.3865 m. or as 0.385 m.), and it can no longer be described as "the thickness of the lead in a lead pencil"; it is a divergence greater even than the width of the last letter in the restored line, which Dow estimates at only 0.007 m., and is the measurement which led me formerly (*DAT*, 67) to think that mathematically a line of 21 letters was indicated. Dow would concede (*op. cit.*, p. 383, n. 24) that with all possible adverse measurements a line of 22 letters might be reckoned as 0.398 m.—an excess of 0.013 m. over the width of the stone—and he explains that "slight crowding could absorb this amount."

Again the reconstruction which he posits is deceptive. In all Dow's measurements the average spacing for the last two-thirds of the line (the restored part) has been reckoned as the same as the average for the first six spaces (preserved). Two of these first six spaces, as noted above, introduce irregularities which make this procedure fallacious. The loose stoichedon style permitted a space of only 0.016 m. after the iota. There is no

iota in the restored portion of the line to justify the assumption that a similar narrow space should anywhere be restored there; in fact, in Dow's text the numeral *ἑβδόμης* contains, on the contrary, the "uniquely wide letter," mu, which should raise rather than lower the average spacing. In the preserved part of line 1 the space between centers of T and E is obviously not to be taken as a norm.⁸ It follows, therefore, that the correct procedure for determining the figure to be used in the average spacing of the restored part is to take the average spacing of the four normal units of the preserved part. I repeat here my measurements of the first six spaces, taken from *DAT*, 67, Figure 13: 0.019 m., 0.019 m., 0.016 m., 0.015 m., 0.018 m., 0.019 m. The average of the four normal spaces is 0.018 $\frac{1}{4}$ m., the figure which should be used in computing the width of the restored portion. If one uses minimum measurements, so as to give Dow's argument for 22 letters the benefit of every doubt, the width of stone needed for the 22-letter line may be computed as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} &0.005 \text{ m. (left margin)} + 0.106 \text{ m. (first six} \\ &\quad \text{spaces)} + 0.281 \text{ m. (next fifteen spaces)} \\ &\quad + 0.007 \text{ m. (width of final letter)} \\ &\quad + 0.005 \text{ m. (right margin)} = 0.404 \text{ m.} \end{aligned}$$

Merely as a matter of measurement, this width is one complete letter space too great, and yet it is a probable minimum. If one were to accept my count of the margins and Young's measurement of the first six spaces, the normal average would be increased to 0.019 $\frac{1}{4}$ m. and the total determined as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} &0.012 \text{ m.} + 0.108 \text{ m.} + 0.288 \text{ m.} + 0.012 \text{ m.} \\ &\quad = 0.420 \text{ m.} \end{aligned}$$

⁸ S. Accame (*Riv. di fil.*, XVI [1938], 412-13) makes a mistake similar to Dow's in arguing that the irregularities of l. 1 should be considered normal. He even argues that the E was set close to the T because the stonecutter realized that this would be the only way of getting all the 22 letters on the line.

This figure exceeds the actual width of the stone by a total of 0.035 m. In fact, it comes within the thickness of the lead in a lead pencil of being too wide by two complete letter-units, and the "decisiveness" which Dow found in favor of a line of 22 letters may, with equal propriety, be claimed for the shorter line of 20 letters. This is a conclusion quite at variance with his pronouncement that "a line of 20 letters would seem to be so improbable as not to be worth considering, unless one admits fairly gross irregularities."

So far I have made no reference here to the spacing of letters in line 3 of the prescript of List 8. These letters have "normal spacing," i.e., they are evenly spaced; iota takes approximately the same amount of room as any other letter (it was twice short in the two lines above), and there is no irregular crowding (as between T and E in l. 1). Dow calls the spacing of line 3 "wider." This is true only if one compares it with the abnormalities of lines 1 and 2. Compared with the regular spacings of lines 1 and 2, the spacing of line 3 is the same. It is not even "relaxed" in the sense that the final letters of the word *φόρος* in the last line of the prescript of List 15 are relaxed. The one word *Παιονίδες* extended over too little of the stone to make any reasonable relaxation noticeably reduce the uninscribed area at the end of the line, and the mason probably attempted no such reduction. What happened was that the nu of *Παιονίδες* simply would not go under the iota in the name above it and the stoichedon order of lines 1 and 2 had to be abandoned. From this point on in line 3 a "regular" spacing, rather than a "stoichedon" spacing, was followed, each of the final letters presumably falling under an interspace in the pattern of the lines above, much as the end of line 4 in

the prescript of List 15 was related to line 3, and the end of line 5 to line 4. Dow has objected (*op. cit.*, p. 382) to my use of this regular spacing in line 3 to control the restorations in lines 1 and 2, though he admits that with this spacing "lines of 20 letters each are easily justified." The spacing is the same as the normal spacing in the preserved parts of lines 1 and 2, and it is immaterial which is used in restoration to determine the length of line. The result in both cases is nearer to 20 letters than it is to 22.

It would be unwise to insist too vigorously on these measurements across the restored portion of the stone and on epigraphical determinations made on the basis of them, for no reliable measurement gives precisely and categorically either 20 or 22 letters. The scholar who wishes to have a line of 20 letters must allow for a relaxation in lettering, or an increase in the final margin—probably of less than one letter space. In the matter of variation from normal, the line of 20 letters thus calls for less irregularity, and by so much becomes the preferable reconstruction. There might have been closer spacing without crowding if only the restored portions of the text contained one or more iotas. They contain none. On the contrary, line 1 of Dow's restoration contains one mu and line 2 contains two mus, both being broad letters and likely to take up more room than other letters in a loosely spaced inscription.

On the other hand, the 20-letter line falls short of the desired width and demands either relaxation in spacing at the end of the line or perhaps regular spacing with a right margin at the end greater, by less than a letter space, than the margin at the beginning. The prescript of List 15 can be instructive in this regard, for it, too, is a loose stoichedon inscription. It contains five normal lines,

of which two (ll. 3 and 4) have wider margins at the right than at the left. There is no symmetry of margin, such as Dow would demand as one of the necessities for restoration in List 8. Symmetry of margin is naturally provided in stoichedon texts laid out in advance with guide lines, but neither List 8 nor List 15 belongs to this category. In the pattern of List 15 extra letters were not added at the ends of lines 3 and 4 because they would have been crowded. The reason why an extra letter was not added at the end of line 1 in List 8 may have been the same as the reason which controlled line 3 of List 15, i.e., a matter of crowding; but it may equally well have been something entirely different. Dow passes too lightly over the fact that the lines in List 8 are divided by complete words. He notes the fact, and also the parallel case of the prescript of List 23 (*ibid.*, pp. 383-84), but claims that this evidence is "remote" and can be used only by neglecting the evidence of List 15, which is nearer at hand. There is, however, evidence near at hand which need not be neglected. The accounts for the Athena Promachos⁹ were cut in a loose stoichedon style with conspicuous syllabic division and are nearer in date to List 8 than is the prescript of List 15. The same may be said of the earlier years of the accounts of the Parthenon.¹⁰ A feeling for syllabic division was not confined to the tribute lists alone but is abundantly testified by these other documents from the middle of the century. Certainly, non-syllabic division in List 15 (*ibid.*, p. 384) could have had no influence on List 8, which was inscribed eight years before it; nor is it an argument against syllabic division, as Dow suggests, that List 8 would

⁹ IG, I², 338; cf. also AJA, XXXVI (1932), 473-76; *Hesperia*, V (1936), 362-80; VII (1938), 264-68; XII (1943), 12-17.

¹⁰ IG, I², 339 ff.

thus be the only list on the First Stele so disposed. It happens also to be the only list on the First Stele with a prescript of three lines. Essentially it has the type of prescript which occupied only one line on the broad surfaces of the stone, and this is the unique instance in which a mason was faced with the problem of how to divide such a line. The pattern of List 8 should be studied with greater emphasis on the evidence offered by its own preserved fragment, where the one outstanding epigraphical fact is that the lines were made to end in complete words.

If there was, therefore, a wider margin at the end of line 1 than at its beginning, the reason was probably that the mason was unwilling—and quite properly so—to cut the three letters of the word HEI , which now begins line 2, in a space at the end of line 1 barely large enough for only one of them. There is no problem in line 2, for the doubled mu's of $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ are in themselves sufficient to fill out any additional space that statistical regular measurement may have shown to be available for extra and "asymmetrical" margin.

One further argument for a line of 22 letters, as against a line of 20 letters, must be considered. For a line of 20 letters the name of the secretary is $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[.]$ (line 2), which can be restored as a known name only as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[\epsilon\varsigma]$. This name ($\Delta\iota\omicron\delta\eta\varsigma$) appears only once in any Athenian document, though it is fair to say that the document in which it does appear belongs to the fifth century. For a line of 22 letters the name of the secretary is $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[.]$, which can be restored either as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ or as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma]$, both common in all periods. As Dow phrases it, there is thus a "presumption that line 2 had 22, not 20, letters."¹¹

¹¹ Gomme, in *Cl. Rev.*, LIV (1940), 66, advances much the same argument and stresses what he calls "the greater probability of $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ or $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$."

This type of statistical argument does not amount to proof and is, in a measure, misleading. If one had fifty inscriptions in which the restoration of $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[-]$ had to be completed either as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[.]$ or as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[.]$, an actuary could lay down the statistical law that in restoring all of them as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[.]$ he would, by the law of averages, be sure of being right most of the time. This is the logic that makes a life-insurance company a profitable business. But it is not equally valid to single out an individual case and argue from the generality to it. No life insurance company would be allowed to do business on the life expectancy of one policyholder. His length of life would be a matter of too great uncertainty to allow prediction on the law of averages. It is much the same with the restoration of $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[-]$ in line 2 of List 8. Apparently it should be restored either as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[\epsilon\varsigma]$ or as $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ or $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta[\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma]$, and the frequent occurrences elsewhere of the names $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Delta\iota\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ have very little to do with it. Just recently Capps has pointed out the fallacy of such statistical reasoning by publishing a pertinent rejection of Koerte's restoration $[\Phi\iota\lambda\alpha]\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ for the name of one of the plays of Diphilos which appears on a new fragment of inscription from the Athenian Agora.¹² Here the restoration which Capps and I originally proposed was $[\text{Μισα}]\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$.¹³ Koerte's argument that names of plays in New and Middle Comedy were more common in compounds with $\phi\iota\lambda$ - and that therefore the restoration $[\Phi\iota\lambda\alpha]\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is "ungleich wahrscheinlicher" is rightly rejected. What a blunder, Capps warns, would have been created in the history of Attic comedy, if we had had the record of one of Menander's plays only as

¹² Capps, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), 325-28; Koerte, *Hermes*, LXXIII (1938), 123 ff.

¹³ *Hesperia*, VII (1938), 117.

[. . .] γύνει and had supposed that it must be restored as [Φίλο] γύνει merely because compounds with μισο- are rare and those with φιλο- are elsewhere numerous! So the rarity of the name Διόδ[es] is hardly an indication that the restoration is incorrect. Although it occurs only once elsewhere, the increasingly numerous examples of equally rare ἀπαξ γραφόμενα among Attic names from the excavations of the Agora should temper in some measure one's readiness to consider as suspect the appearance of a homonym for a ἀπαξ γραφόμενον already known.

Thus it appears, on the basis of physical measurement and purely epigraphical considerations, that a line of 20 letters is to be preferred to one of 22. On this issue my disagreement with Dow is fundamental. But, even so, I do not regard a line of 20 letters as essential. Irregularities in the lost parts of lines 1 and 2 (there is one such in the preserved parts) might allow a line of 22 letters. It does not follow that the year was seventh, rather than eighth. One could restore Διόδ[οτος] or Διόδ[ορος] in line 2 and write line 1 with syllabic division and two blank spaces at the end: ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τες ὀγδόες ν ν]. I should prefer not to claim knowledge (Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 384) that in such a case the mason would rather have crowded in the word *hei* at the end of line 1, making 23 letters.

If one grants irregularities, the numeral to be restored in line 1 may have been either *heβδόμες* or *ὀγδόες*, and other outside evidence would be necessary to decide the issue. But, granted the normal use of the loose stoichedon style and no irregularities except those that can be observed on the stone, the epigraphical indications favor unequivocally the shorter line and the restoration *ὀγδόες*.

One other item of evidence unfavorable to his view Dow has not mentioned. This is the fact that there is no numeral in the

prescript of the last list on the obverse of the First Stele, a unique exception in the series of tribute-quota records after 454/3. Its significance has been pointed out by Herbert Nesselhauf and must be here taken into account.¹⁴ The omission is easier to explain if the list was seventh, not sixth, and if it be assumed that the intention of the mason was to avoid the embarrassment of having a list numbered 7 follow immediately after a list numbered 5. Again the implication is that the "missing" list belongs to 449/8 and that the list here under discussion belongs to the eighth year in 447/6 B.C.

II. QUOTA LISTS ON THE FIRST STELE

A second section of Dow's "Studies" appears in an earlier number of this *Journal* this year.¹⁵ Its stated purpose is to determine exactly how the first fifteen years after 454/3 were disposed on the great so-called First Stele of the tribute-quota lists. Several schematic designs are published, allegedly showing the development of scholarly opinion over the past ten or fifteen years, beginning with the old Scheme I (now universally acknowledged to be incorrect) and running through Scheme II (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor) and Scheme III (Gomme) to Scheme IV, which Dow puts forward, and which he illustrates with a full-page drawing on page 23, *supra*.

Scheme I has now only an antiquarian interest, and the drawing of it takes up space in Figure 1 which might more profitably have been given to the illustration of Dow's Scheme IIa, for which no drawing is provided. As a possible solution of the problem, this arrangement has a better claim to attention than either Scheme III or Scheme IV, and a

¹⁴ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, LIX (1938), cols. 1033-35; see also Wade-Gery, *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, Suppl. I (1940), 151, n. 1.

¹⁵ XXXVIII (1943), 20-27.

case for it has been argued at some length by Silvio Accame, whose work, however, remains unknown to Dow. Scheme III is an epigraphical monstrosity which does not deserve to be perpetuated, and the illustration of it had best been omitted.¹⁶ For Dow it serves merely as a foil. He says (*ibid.*, p. 25) that "the great merit of Scheme III is to have called attention to the area at the top of the Reverse Face," and he then proceeds to argue that this area contained the list of the year 447/6 B.C. (Scheme IV).

This small area at the top of the reverse face has been known for some time. Specifically, it has been well known to me, who constructed the First Stele out of its preserved fragments as it now stands in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, and to Wade-Gery, who made a thorough study of the upper section of the stone and published his results in *Brit. Sch. Ann.*, XXXIII, 101-13,¹⁷ and to McGregor, who collaborated with Wade-Gery and me in publishing the texts of the tribute lists in 1939. The area was represented as blank by all of us in the drawing in *ATL*, Vol. I, Plate IX, and Wade-Gery had already expressed our conviction (*op. cit.*) that no inscription should be there restored. When Dow states (*op. cit.*, p. 22) that with the publication of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* "the area at the top of the Reverse Face was still thought to have been left blank (if it was thought about at all)," he underestimates, as did Gomme also, the amount of thought that had been given to it. The fact that he wishes, at the end of his argument, to insert a list of from 42 to 65 lines in the space in question raises a problem which it is our duty to discuss here.

It must be said for Dow's scheme that

it would avoid the inexplicable division of a list between the bottom of the obverse and the top of the reverse face and is thereby less bad than Scheme III; but it introduces a list only one-quarter or one-third the length of normal at a time when there is no good historical explanation for it. Dow's concluding remark, that "the historical interpretation of the figures need not be treated here," evades the issue. He claims, to be sure, that his purpose is to keep historical considerations in the background (*ibid.*) until the epigraphical data are clearly established, but when the alleged epigraphical data lead to a historical impasse one should examine them again for reliability. The historical case for reduced collection in 447/6, or rather for no collection at all, has been most extensively set forth by Accame; and the historical implications can best be considered with reference to his exposition. Study of Dow's article restricts one to epigraphical considerations.

Even these epigraphical considerations are so subjective in nature that it is difficult to enter into serious argument about them. Dow experiences a feeling of *horror vacui* at the thought that a small space at the top of the reverse face of the stele may have been left uninscribed. He argues that, if this were true, the only conceivable reasons were that it was inaccessible to the mason or that letters at such a height would be difficult to read, and then he discounts these reasons because actually the other three faces of the stele were inscribed close to the top. Apparently one must believe that, since three faces were accessible, the top of the fourth face must have been accessible also. In formal logic this is a *non sequitur*. One might suggest, for example, that the great stele was set up in a low portico and that the top few inches of one face of it

¹⁶ The scheme was proposed, with many justifiable misgivings, by A. W. Gomme (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁷ See esp. p. 112.

rested along the side of an epistyle block in one of the intercolumniations. I do not mean to imply that this was the way in which the stele was erected; I merely wish to illustrate by example that one cannot argue that the upper part of Face 4 must have been accessible and therefore inscribed, merely because the upper parts of Faces 1-3 were accessible and inscribed.

There is in Dow's argument a second *non sequitur*. It is entirely conceivable, to me at least, that the upper part of Face 4 may have been left uninscribed for a short distance, even though it was accessible. To argue differently is to force all possible chance divergences from normal practice into the Procrustean bed of a rule of one's own making. We do not know in detail how the stele was inscribed. List 1 may have been cut upon the obverse and upon the right lateral face before the stele was erected; there may have been no problem of difficult access to a high portion of the stone when this inscription was cut. List 14 on the left lateral face was assuredly cut after the stele was in position, and the stonecutter must have had something like a ladder or a scaffolding by which he could elevate himself to a position where he could reach the upper part of the stone. The top of the stone was more than eleven feet above the level of its base,¹⁸ so artificial help must have been needed for the mason to reach it. Quite unexpected evidence appears on the right lateral face, in the way the names of the cities were inscribed in *ATL*, Vol. I, List 8, to show the "stages" in relative height at which one stonecutter worked. His various levels of operation corresponded to (1) lines 4-55, (2) lines 56-73, and (3) lines 74-86. There may have been further subdivisions in the later lines. All this has been set forth in *The Athenian Tribute*

Lists (176) but is repeated here to show that the mason worked with a variable scaffolding or support in the year which preceded the cutting of the inscription on the upper part of the reverse face. On the reverse face he had to begin higher than the prescript of List 8 (*ATL*, Vol. I, Pl. I). Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor believe that he began with the level of the prescript of List 9, some centimeters below the actual top of the stone, and that the space above this prescript—too small for more than one-third or one-quarter of a normal list—was left uninscribed. However accessible in theory, this upper space may have been left without inscription simply because the mason could not comfortably reach it. His ladder may have been too short, or the boxes and whatnot that formed his scaffolding may have been too low, or—within the range of possibility—the mason of 446/5 may have been a man of diminutive stature—say, five feet four—as contrasted with him of 441/0, who cut List 14 and who may have measured six feet three. Perhaps one man could reach the top of the stone and the other man could not. On such simple considerations as these Dow's elaborate argumentation (*op. cit.*, p. 25) that the reverse face must have been inscribed clear to the top falls to pieces. One cannot prove that Mason A was as tall as a man or had as long a reach as Mason B. Dow does, however, invoke parallels and calls attention to the fact that the Second Stele, containing Lists 16-23, was inscribed on all four faces beginning at the very top on each face; and he argues that on this evidence "a virtual certainty exists" that the top of the reverse face on the First Stele must have been inscribed. Why Stele II should prove anything about Stele I is difficult to understand. At most, the Second Stele was only a little over seven feet tall

¹⁸ More than 3.583 m., at least; cf. *ATL*, Vol. I, p. 3.

(*ATL*, Vol. I, p. 67, gives a minimum of 2.192 m.), and a man of normal stature with hammer and chisel could easily reach its top, having nothing more than a modest footstool on which to stand. Uninscribed areas would have been more difficult to explain at the top of Stele II than at the top of Stele I.

Although Dow wishes, for reasons which have not seemed adequate in the discussion thus far, to have an abbreviated list at the top of the reverse face above List 9,¹⁹ he admits that the proper place for it would have been on the lateral face below List 8 (Dow's List 7), where there is an available area "twice as large." Obviously, no inscription was cut in this area, for numerous uninscribed fragments of it have been preserved. The logical conclusion is that a text which "ought to have been inscribed" in the available space was not crowded into a space half as large on the top edge of the reverse face, where it did not belong, and that List 9 on the reverse follows immediately after List 8 on the lateral face. Dow admits (*op. cit.*, p. 25) that this is a difficulty with his so-called Scheme IV, but the reasoning by which he seeks to explain it away departs so decisively from the precepts of architectural epigraphy—which American scholars have been developing as their most constructive contribution to the study of ancient documents and which Dow has himself largely emphasized—that its subjective nature should not be overlooked without protest. Dow argues that the secretary, who had his choice of using the lower part of the right lateral face or the upper part of the reverse face, chose to have his list—brief though it was—cut high

on the reverse of the stone. It would have been "natural and economical" to have it low on the right lateral face, but Dow argues that the secretary wanted his name to appear in a prominent place, and he pictures him, in the moment of decision before the cutting of the text, debating what to do as he stood before the stele (*ibid.*, p. 26): "Looking at the stele, his gaze wandered to the wholly blank Reverse Face, and he was tempted by the opportunity of inserting his account at the top, where his name would appear, not so easily legible, perhaps, but high and prominent, in the very first line on that Face."

This is an example of what might be called "psychological" epigraphy. Mr. P. G. Wodehouse, as an author of fiction, could record that Jeeves, the inimitable gentleman's gentleman, achieved admirable results for his young master by basing a study of difficult problems on "the psychology of the individual." But Mr. Dow cannot allow himself the same liberties with the secretary of 447 B.C. that Mr. Wodehouse allowed himself with Jeeves. Who today, indeed, shall claim insight into the mind of a flesh-and-blood secretary, who lived more than two millennia ago, to make the extraordinary assertion that he wanted his name prominently displayed and so, paradoxically, had it cut where it would be difficult to read? Dow's argument is its own refutation, for he admits that the rarified air of the upper reverse would make the name "not so easily legible." The name cut four feet high on the lateral face, on the other hand, would have been about breast high to every adult passer-by. Four feet is an approximate minimum measurement; the name on the lateral face might well have achieved maximum prominence at normal eye level.

If one returns to architectural epig-

¹⁹ Dow has an alternative suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 26) that a decree may have been inscribed here, replacing a normal list of tribute-quotas. This is truly an extraordinary suggestion, and one may doubt his claim that "speculation along these lines may be profitable."

raphy, he finds that between the preserved inscription on the right lateral face and the beginning of the ninth list on the upper reverse there were two areas of stone where an intervening list, shorter than the normal, could have been inscribed. One is at the very top of the reverse face, above List 9. It is not a large area and at most could hold only about one-third the usual number of names. The other is below the preserved list of the right lateral face. It is approximately twice as large as the theoretically available space at the top of the reverse. It is known from its preserved fragments to have been uninscribed, and the presumption must be that the next inscription due to be cut demanded more room than it afforded. There was, in fact, no inscription between that now preserved on the right lateral face and List 9 on the reverse, and the upper few centimeters of the reverse face must have been uninscribed, just as was the larger lower section of the right lateral face. One comes to this conclusion in spite of Dow's erroneous claim that to leave a small strip uninscribed at the top of the reverse face would have been "to fly in the face of every probability" (*ibid.*); and the conclusion is further justified by an item of negative epigraphical evidence which has escaped Dow's attention and which should be mentioned here.

When the fragments of the First Stele were rediscovered by modern archeologists, they were assembled and brought to the Epigraphical Museum because they were inscribed. The existence of letters upon their surface proved that they were parts of an epigraphical monument. It should be pointed out that the reason why no single fragment from the area at the top of the reverse has been preserved may very well be simply that no letters were there inscribed and that consequently the modern epigraphist, even

if he had held such fragments in his hand, would have been unable to identify them as belonging to this or any other inscription. The blank spaces at the bottom of the right lateral face and at the bottom of the obverse and reverse are proved by the existence of uninscribed areas of preserved stone which is known to belong to this monument because each fragment is at least partially inscribed on the same or on an adjacent face. No one has attributed to these lower areas any fragment which is completely without epigraphical text. If the upper edge of the reverse face was uninscribed, no one could assign to it any preserved fragment unless it happened to come from one of the edges and contained part of the postscript of List 1 (at the left) or part of the prescript of List 14 (at the right) or unless it was large enough to extend down into the text of List 9. If one glances at a drawing of the First Stele (*ATL*, Vol. I, Pl. I), it is immediately noticeable that the conspicuous areas within the entire framework where no fragments are preserved are low on the obverse, low on the reverse (away from the edges), and high on the reverse. The first two of these areas are known to have been uninscribed, and the absence of fragments in them is probably to be accounted for by this fact. In view of the other evidence already set forth that the upper reverse was probably uninscribed, one may conclude that the absence of any preserved fragment from that area affords some confirmation. Lacking inscription, it is difficult to say how a fragment from this area might be recognized, though there is one possible clue. The upper edge of fragments 1, 3, and 4 from the obverse is decorated by a narrow marginal drafting;²⁰ perhaps some fragment with a similar drafting may yet be found to make its

²⁰ Cf. *AJP*, XLVII (1926), 171-72.

claim for the unscripted area at the top of the reverse.

Dow's Scheme IV belongs properly in the same category with Scheme I; and, since Scheme III has never had any just claim to attention, there remain for debate only Schemes IIa and IIβ. Both these schemes take account of the missing list: IIa (Accame) posits no list in 447/6 and dates *ATL*, Volume I, List 8, in 448/7; IIβ (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor) posits no list in 449/8 and dates *ATL*, Volume I, List 8, in 447/6. The fact that one list of tribute-quota either in 449/8 or in 447/6 is missing from the great First Stele does not of itself mean that no tribute was collected. The editors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* were inclined in 1939 to believe that the Peace of Kallias led for one year to the suspension of tribute payment. This proposition was set forth without argument, and their plan was to elaborate the thesis in a forthcoming second volume of the Athenian Tribute Lists. Wade-Gery has now made a more nearly complete statement in an article on the Peace of Kallias,²¹ and Gomme has pointed out some of the difficulties in assuming that no tribute was paid.²² Meritt has subsequently suggested that tribute was collected but that no quota was separately given to Athena.²³ Accame suggested in his solution of the problem that Pericles sought to keep the loyalty of the empire in 447/6 after the defeat of Coronea and the revolt of Euboea by remitting for one year the obligations of tribute. This view has all the difficulties brought forward by Gomme to the absence of collection in 449/8, and it labors under the additional

improbability that money for the fleet should not have been collected in a year when it was much needed indeed.²⁴ But we have now the correct date of the tribute decree published in *ATL*, Volume I, as D7 and know that it was probably proposed by Kleinias, father of Alcibiades, who lost his life in the battle of Coronea. As I have urged elsewhere,²⁵ the provisions of this decree fall naturally into place in the general reorganization of the empire which followed the peace of 449. Aside from the fact that Accame's scheme supposes a drastic outburst of generosity for which there is little probability and no evidence, it is also hard to justify the assumption that for any reason no tribute was collected in 447/6, when the provisions of the decree of Kleinias had laid down new and elaborate rules for the collection of tribute only a year or two before.

The purely epigraphical evidence is supported by historical considerations to place the year of the missing list in 449/8 B.C. One may still debate why a list was not inscribed or suggest his own interpretation of the historical evidence its absence affords, but the fact of its absence from the First Stele and the date of the missing year ought now to be considered certain.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

²⁴ Hans Schaefer (*Hermes*, LXXIV [1939], 237) calls attention to Nesselhauf's exposition, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der delisch-attischen Symmachie," *Klio*, Beiheft XXX (1933), pp. 35 and 48, for the fact that the revolt of Euboea—and the later revolt of Samos—had no effect on the relations between Athens and most of her allies. Schaefer's article (*op. cit.*, pp. 225-64) contains so much that is fallacious and unsound that it is a pleasure to record this just observation. A detailed answer to his arguments in general would here lead too far afield. I do wish, however, to note his abortive attempt (pp. 254-57) to date after the Sicilian expedition the fragment found by Segre of the Athenian monetary decree. Apparently Schaefer did not read Segre's article (*Clara Rhodos*, IX [1938], 151-78) with sufficient care to learn that the inscription has a three-bar sigma. He need not, however, have read the article; Segre publishes an admirable photograph.

²⁵ *The Greek Political Experience*, pp. 52-56.

²¹ *Hav. Stud. Class. Philol.*, Suppl. I (1940), 151; cf. also W. Kolbe, *Hermes*, LXXIII (1938), 249-68, esp. 267-68.

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; cf. also U. Kahrstedt, *GGA*, CC (1938), 161.

²³ *The Greek Political Experience* (Princeton, N.J., 1941), pp. 52-56.

LIVY IN THE ARA PIETATIS AUGUSTAE?

VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA

FIVE sculptured panels built into the garden façade of Villa Medici and known as the Della Valle-Medici reliefs¹ have again become the subject of absorbing speculation. Of unmistakably early imperial character, they had long been assigned to the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Petersen himself considered them as part of the Augustan shrine, but the discovery in 1903 of additional material convinced him that there was no room for them in that monument.² It was then suggested that they belonged, instead, to the *Ara Pietatis Augustae*, vowed by the Senate in A.D. 22 on the occasion of Livia's illness and dedicated by Claudius in the year 43.³ The discovery in 1923 and 1933 of other fragments which in style, subject, material, and dimensions matched the Della Valle-Medici slabs seemed to confirm the validity of this suggestion.⁴ In an integrated

¹ Before their connection with Villa Medici these reliefs were the property of the Della Valle family. For an artistic evaluation see Eugénie Strong, *La Scultura romana* (2 vols. with continuous paging; Florence, 1923), pp. 67-72; and *Art in Ancient Rome* (2 vols.; New York, 1928), I, 165-66.

² For Petersen's earlier view see his study, *Ara Pacis Augustae* ("Sonderschriften des österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien," Vol. II (1902)). For his revised estimate see *Jahreshefte öst. arch. Inst.*, IX (1906), 298-315; see also A. Pasqui, "Scavi dell'Ara Pacis Augustae," *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, pp. 549-74. The restoration of the *Ara Pacis* without the Della Valle-Medici reliefs (see G. Moretti, "Lo Scavo e la ricostruzione dell'Ara Pacis Augustae," *Capitolium*, XIII (1938), 479-90), has definitely settled the question.

³ *CIL*, VI, 562 = Dessau, *ILS*, 202; Tac. *Ann.* III, 64; J. Sieveking, "Zur Ara Pacis Augustae," *Jahreshefte öst. arch. Inst.*, X (1907), 175-90; F. Studniczka, "Zur Ara Pacis," *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1909, p. 908; Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), p. 390.

⁴ For an account of the discovery of 1923 see *Not. Sc.*, 1925, pp. 232-33. I have not seen A. M. Colini, "I Frammenti di architettura e di rilievi rinvenuti presso la Chiesa di S. Maria in Via Lata," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, XI (1935), 41 ff.

study of the two sets of reliefs, Raymond Bloch has finally laid the foundations for the reconstruction of the elusive *Ara Pietatis*.⁵ Claudius, who built the monument, heads a sacred procession, while three figures to the left look on in admiration. All this is shown in what is probably the best-known panel of the Della Valle-Medici set.⁶ The procession refers to one which actually took place either in A.D. 22 to propitiate the gods for Livia's recovery or in A.D. 43 to inaugurate the *Ara*. Connected with the procession are a number of sacrificial scenes and three temples, evidently related to Augustus.⁷

Rhys Carpenter, who agrees with Bloch's general thesis, now comes out with the theory that the second spectator figure in the famous slab is a portrait of Virgil. But he goes further: he believes that the figure to the right of Virgil, as one looks on, represents Horace, that to

⁵ "L'Ara Pietatis Augustae," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, LVI (1939), 81-120.

⁶ On Claudius, builder of the monument, see *ibid.*, pp. 82-83; on Claudius, leader of the procession, *ibid.*, pp. 92-94; on spectator figures, *ibid.*, pp. 90-91. Since, owing to the war, Bloch's study is practically unavailable in this country (only three copies seem to have reached the United States), it may perhaps be helpful to refer to corresponding illustrations in accessible publications. For the Della Valle-Medici panel (*ibid.*, Pl. I, following p. 90) see Strong, *Scultura romana*, Fig. 41, p. 68 = Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. of Plates IV, 126[a]. Mrs. Strong herself assumes (*CAH*, X, 553 and 561) that the Julio-Claudian prince of this slab is Claudius.

⁷ For the procession date see Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 and 114. For other processional scenes see *ibid.*, p. 112, Fig. 11 (= *Not. Sc.*, 1925, p. 233, Fig. 4), and p. 115, Fig. 13. For sacrificial scenes see Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 89, Fig. 3 = Strong, *Scultura romana*, p. 69, Fig. 42 = Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, I, 166, Fig. 198; Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 91, Fig. 4 = Strong, *Scultura romana*, p. 69, Fig. 43 = Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, I, 166, Fig. 197; and Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 113, Fig. 12 (*canistrarius* bearing offerings). For temples see below, n. 36. The panel of a possibly fourth temple is still missing.

the left Propertius. Virgil would thus stand between the other two great poets of the Maecenatan circle.⁸ But at this point one is confronted by an apparent anomaly. On the one hand, the identification of the Virgil portrait, which Carpenter derives from a penetrating examination of sculptural techniques, appears, at least to this writer, convincing. On the other hand, every test of all stylistic elements involved leaves no doubt that this particular slab, as indeed the whole *Ara*, is a post-Augustan composition.

Carpenter explains the presence of the three poets by the attractive hypothesis that the slab illustrates a phase of the *ludi saeculares* of 17 B.C.⁹ Indeed, Horace, who composed the *Carmen* for that festival, not only stands nearest to the great personage at the head of the procession but is treated throughout with both care and emphasis. As Carpenter puts it in a personal letter to the writer, Horace is in high relief while his two comrades are in low; his head is three-fourths front whereas the other two are in profile; his toga is full of light and shadow while the other two are flatly linear. But there is one difficulty to all this, and Carpenter is the first to recognize it: Virgil, who stands next to Horace, witnessing with him the alleged procession connected with the *ludi*, had died two years before (19 B.C.).

A philological approach to this problem, while accepting Bloch's theory of a procession headed by Claudius, leaves Carpenter's identification of Virgil intact. That of Horace, too. It would seem, however, that Livy should be substituted for Propertius, for it is only with Livy that the two foremost poets of the Augustan age form an ideologically homogeneous

group worthy of being represented in a shrine to *Pietas*.¹⁰

Tiberius, it would seem, lost interest in the monument after it had been authorized by the Senate; and, if his enthusiasm vanished, there was hardly anyone else in Rome to prosecute the project. The actual shrine was built by Claudius,¹¹ probably designed also under his supervision. In this design *Pietas* was expressed as steadfast devotion to the gods, as Augustus and Claudius himself had practiced it. Modeling his reign after that of Augustus, Claudius followed a religious policy likewise based on Augustan concepts.¹² Rome and the gods, Principate and religion, the present and the past, catalyzed in his mind, as they had in Augustus' own mind, into an all-embracing unity. Evil would surely befall the commonwealth if the ancestral gods were neglected; the Principate's policy should be as elastic and generous as that of the Republic; the present day under the Caesars as virtuous as the past under the consuls.¹³ In brief, Augustus and Claudius were resolved to preserve the ancient faith, the ancient morals, and the ancient polity—*Pietas* in the most inclusive sense.

What Augustus had sought to achieve through statesmanship, Virgil had realized by poetic genius. It is no exaggeration to say that Virgil alone was more valuable to the emperor than all the collaborators he had in the Senate, the army, and the civil

¹⁰ I assume with Bloch and many other students that the moving processional group and the standing spectators are integral parts of the same panel.

¹¹ Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

¹² A. D. Nock in *CAH*, X, 498-500; V. M. Sramazza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 145-56. For a different view see A. Momigliano, *Claudius the Emperor and His Achievement* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 20-38.

¹³ Neglect of gods, Tac. *Ann.* xi. 15; Principate's policy, *CIL*, XIII, 1668 = Dessau, *ILS*, 212 = Bruns, *Fontes*, No. 52; Tac. *op. cit.* xi. 24. On the present and the past envisioned as *aeternitas Italiae* cf. *CIL*, X, 1401 = Dessau, *ILS*, 6043 = Bruns, *Fontes*, No. 54.

⁸ *Observations on Familiar Statuary in Rome* ("Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome," Vol. XVIII [1941]), pp. 100-101.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101. For a popular account of Carpenter's views see R. V. Schoder, S.J., "Found: A Portrait of Virgil!" *Classical Bulletin*, XIX (1942-43), 1-2.

service or in his informal circle of advisers. For Virgil re-created the dream of Rome that was and that Augustus was endeavoring to restore—a nation founded on hard work, simple living, fidelity to the ways of the fathers, and obedience to the gods. No other poet has been able to reproduce the fecund nostalgia which springs from the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, each a school for the education of a *nova progenies*, the former painting the industrious and simple life which *veteres . . . coluere Sabini*,¹⁴ the latter glorifying the national hero who was the embodiment of *Pietas* and by a thousand inferences warning the nation that it would continue to exist and to rule only if it cultivated that same *Pietas*.

And what about Horace? Although his approach is different, his aim is the same. The epic poet has no need of watching the barometer; he looks at Rome and the Romans *sub specie aeternitatis*. The lyric poet, on the other hand, keeps his finger on the pulse of Augustus' administration, watching every thought and move, interpreting, exhorting, warning, reproving, or applauding. In truth, Horace is, as someone has put it, the conscience of the nation. The poems indeed are few where he does not show his concern for the common weal. Witness especially the first six odes of the third book, where, in singing of Augustus' achievement, he takes stock of the moral state of the Republic. His note is religious throughout:

favete linguis: carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
virginibus puerisque canto.¹⁵

And these *carmina* are about the simple life, which gives the truest happiness (iii. 1)¹⁶ and which produced a race of yeomen who knew how to die for the father-

land (iii. 2); about the "just man and of strong will," who, even if the world should fall, will not lose his head (iii. 3), such as Romulus, who built the city (*ibid.*), or Augustus, who turned anarchy into order (iii. 4); about the need of subduing Parthia as totally as Carthage had been subdued (iii. 5); and about the nation's duty to rededicate itself to the gods and the morals of the fathers (iii. 6). No prophet of Israel uttered a more terrible warning:

aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiore.¹⁷

In sum, no exhaustive demonstration is needed to prove that Virgil and Horace, if these portraits are theirs, deserved a place in a monument reared *Pietati Augustae*. But they deserved it neither because they were poets nor because they belonged to the Maecenatan circle¹⁸ nor on any narrow ground as participants of this or that event or episode. They are in the *Ara* for the broader reason that they put their genius at the service of *Pietas* as seers and craftsmen who sketched that pattern of religion, morality, and patriotism which Augustus and Tiberius and Claudius did their best to preserve.

Unlike Virgil and Horace, Propertius was only slightly concerned with national problems. He had no taste for heroic themes;¹⁹ his ambition was to write for young ladies in love.²⁰ True, he made some attempts at patriotic poetry;²¹ but, with few exceptions, notably that of iv. 6 on the victory of Actium, he strikes no fire. That Parthia was a constant source of anxiety for the government and people of Rome one might surmise, were any other evidence lacking, from Propertius him-

¹⁷ *Ibid.* iii. 6. 39-42.

¹⁸ Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹⁹ Cf. ii. 1: 10. 1-8, 21-26; iii. 1. 15-16, 3, 9, 22.

²⁰ Cf. iii. 2. 9-10; 3. 19-20; see also ii. 1. 43-48.

²¹ E.g., ii. 10; iii. 11. 29-72.

¹⁴ *Georg.* ii. 532.

¹⁵ *Od.* iii. 1. 2-4.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.* ii. 15, 16, 18; iii. 24.

self.²² His references, however, are for the most part incidental; he either does not attempt or has no wish to rouse the martial spirit. Once he toys with the idea of becoming a war poet.²³ But he is fooling himself; his true sentiments come out in ii. 14, where he proclaims that one night with Cynthia means more to him than a Parthian triumph; in iii. 12, where he tells Postumus that Parthia is not worth leaving one's wife for; and in iii. 4, where he says in so many words: Let others go to war; I shall read of their exploits reclining on my mistress' bosom.

If this were not treason enough, he openly disapproves of Augustus' policy of encouraging marriage and childbearing.²⁴ After all, who is Augustus, asks he. A prince great in war is not necessarily great in other things.²⁵ "Why then should I furnish children to swell our country's triumphs? From my blood shall no soldier ever spring. . . . Love such as this [O Cynthia] will be worth more to me than the name of father."²⁶ In conclusion, neither Propertius' life nor his poetry was likely to win for him a place on an official monument dedicated to that *Pietas* so tenderly fostered by Augustus and his loyal friends, Virgil and Horace.²⁷

²² Cf. ii. 10. 13-20; 14. 23; 27. 5; iii. 4; 9. 54; 12. 3; iv. 3. 36, 67; 5. 26; 6. 79.

²³ ii. 10. 19-20.

²⁴ ii. 7.

²⁵ ii. 7. 5. Propertius admires Augustus for restoring peace after the civil wars (ii. 16. 41-42), appreciates the benefits of his rule (iii. 11. 50, 66), and lauds or flatters him when the occasion presents itself, e.g., in iv. 6; ii. 1. 25-26, 41-42; 10. 4. 15; 31. 2; iii. 4. 9. 27-34. It is, however, seldom that he reaches Horace's spontaneity and conviction.

²⁶ ii. 7. 13-14, 20. For once Propertius has the air of approving Augustus' efforts to improve morals: he condemns lewd pictures. Yet it would seem that his real reason for taking this attitude was not that lewd pictures "bring foul scenes into chaste homes and corrupt the eyes of innocent girls" (ii. 6. 28-29) but that the sight of one such painting caused the impressionable Cynthia to shift to another lover.

²⁷ The nonerotic elegies of the fourth book do not seem to me, despite their genuine beauty and their vivid portrayal of Roman virtues, to contradict the foregoing criticism of Propertius.

The companion figure to Virgil and Horace might with more reason be Livy, for Livy helped as much as either of the other two to strengthen the sagging foundations of *Pietas*. If Virgil reconstructed the beginnings of the Roman people, as one might say, *ante urbem conditam*, Livy reconstructed its glorious life *ab urbe condita*. If Virgil drew in Aeneas the ideal portrait of the ideal Roman, while giving glimpses of every illustrious citizen from Romulus to Marcellus, Livy in his panoramic review of magistrates, pontiffs, and matrons, patricians and commoners, able generals and brave soldiers, drew the portrait of the Roman people itself. Like Virgil, he had the loftiest conception of his subject, for, if in Virgil Rome is *pulcherrima rerum*, in Livy *nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctor nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*.²⁸ And so much did he aim at making his history a contribution to *Pietas* that he wrote it with the exaltation of a poet²⁹ and the fervor of a religious believer.³⁰

A similar spiritual kinship binds Livy to Horace. The despair of the poet at the sight of crime, anarchy, and social degeneration is no less poignant in the historian: "ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam. . . ." ³¹ He mourns the loss of the ancient virtues (and *Pietas* is among them),³² substantially the same virtues which Horace, with poetic license, sees returning to the Roman scene.³³ He utters the cry of that baffled, anguished generation: "nec vitia nostra

²⁸ Virg. *Georg.* ii. 534; Liv. *praef.* 11.

²⁹ *Praef.* 13.

³⁰ xliii. 13. 2.

³¹ *Praef.* 5.

³² Teuffel-Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature* (London, 1891), I, 525-26.

³³ *Carm. saec.* 57-59.

nec remedia pati possumus"³⁴—the *vitia* and *remedia* with which Horace deals in detail. Finally, it is Livy, who, echoing Horace's ideas, incloses in one incisive sentence the principle which was to animate Augustus' social legislation: "quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus et partum et auctum imperium sit."³⁵

It was chiefly on the subject of religion that Augustus, Virgil, Horace, and Livy saw eye to eye. Their combined efforts to rededicate the nation to the ancestral gods are symbolized in the *Ara Pietatis*. Augustus' contribution is expressed by the temples he built or restored: that of Mars Ultor, which he vowed in 42 B.C. at the battle of Philippi and which he built on his own Forum; that of Apollo on the Palatine, which he vowed in 36 B.C. during his war with Sextus Pompey and dedicated in 28 B.C.; and that of Magna Mater, also on the Palatine, to replace the older

one which had burned in A.D. 3.³⁶ The writers' contribution is expressed by their presence in the shadow as it were of these Augustan marks of faith.

They look on, the three patriotic writers, at Claudius—*Augustus redivivus*—proceeding to offer prayer, sacrifice, and supplications to the gods in one or perhaps all the Augustan temples.³⁷ But they are more than spectators symbolizing the Roman people; they are the spiritual leaders of the nation witnessing, in the ceremony which is taking place before their eyes, the fulfilment of the ideals they had fostered. Chronologically the association is impossible, but ideologically it is supremely fitting.

Claudius, who took infinite pains to stress his connection with Augustus,³⁸ could allege good reasons for associating himself with the great intellectuals. He might claim that the six Horatian lyrics referred to above as the synthesis of Augustus' achievements were a pattern also for his own program. He at any rate sought to maintain the ideals sketched therein: the religious policy of iii. 6; the solution of the British and Parthian problems of iii. 5; and the axiom that the Principate should be in spirit, as it was in fact, the heir of the Republic (iii. 4), to mention the most evident resemblances. He could feel close kinship with Virgil, for, like Virgil's Aeneas, he would neglect

³⁴ Liv. praef. 9.

³⁵ *Ibid.* I am well aware that there are objections to the inclusion of Livy. My colleague, Professor William D. Gray, reminds me of the historian's republicanism (Sen. *NQ* v. 18. 4; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34. 4). But, despite that, Livy never lost Augustus' friendship (Tac. iv. 34. 4) or the respect of the imperial family (see below, n. 41). When we moderns emphasize Livy's political preference, we forget, perhaps, that theoretically Augustus, too, was a republican, and so was Tiberius, at least while he was reigning, and Tiberius' brother Drusus, and Claudius himself, for that matter. Moreover, does not the charge of republicanism lose much of its significance in the face of the incalculable aid and comfort which the historian's glorification of the Roman past gave to the social and religious program of his imperial friend?

Carpenter tells me that the extreme youth of the figure he has proposed as Propertius fits well with what we know of the age of the three poets, for Propertius (b. 50 B.C.) was twenty years younger than Virgil and fifteen years younger than Horace, whereas Livy (b. 59 B.C.) was younger by eleven and six years, respectively. I am glad to take note of this observation, even though I feel that, leaving marble and bronze aside, in actual life one often can do no better than to guess an individual's age within half-a-dozen years. I would also hesitate to read melancholy and sensuality (traits which would befit Propertius but not Livy) into the figure under discussion. I make no attempt to compare the figure I interpret as Livy with other portraits of his for the reason that, as far as I know, there is none worthy of serious consideration (cf. PW, Vol. XIII, col. 817 s.v. "Livius").

³⁶ Temple of Mars Ultor, Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 97, Fig. 6 = Strong, *Scultura romana*, p. 71, Fig. 45 = CAH, Vol. Pl. IV, 190[b]. Temple of Apollo, Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 106, Fig. 10 = *Not. Sc.*, 1925, Pl. XII, following p. 232 = Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, I, 164, Fig. 194 = CAH, Vol. Pl. IV, 190[c]. Temple of Magna Mater, Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 101, Fig. 8 = Strong, *Scultura romana*, p. 71, Fig. 44 = CAH, Vol. Pl. IV, 190[a]. On the garland frieze of the *Ara Pietatis*, a counterpart of that of the *Ara Pacis*, see Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 116, Fig. 14; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

³⁷ See above, n. 5; and Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

³⁸ Suet. *Cl.* 11. 2; P. Lond. (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*) 1912 = A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* ("Loeb Classical Library"), II, 78-89. No. 212, vss. 86-88; *CIL*, XIII, 1668, col. ii. vss. 1-4.

none of the protecting gods and none of the customary rites,³⁹ and he revered father and mother and brother and relatives with a loyalty which struck even his critics as exemplary.⁴⁰ His bonds with Livy were of a more intimate nature, for Livy not only had been his teacher in history and had encouraged him to become a historian⁴¹ but had also profoundly influenced his views on the spirit of the Roman constitution.⁴² Always eager to show appreciation to his elders and friends,⁴³ Claudius was the type of prince who would have found a genuine pleasure in honoring his master in some unexpected

manner. Even the idea of placing personages and scenes of different times side by side was in character if, as the literary sources tell us, Claudius had antiquarian tastes and unlooked-for turns of mind.⁴⁴ Be that as it may, the parties and feasts and religious celebrations he organized suggest that he had a flair for showmanship and a capacity to devise unusual scenes.⁴⁵ Is not this combination of qualities sufficient to account for the difficulties presented by the slab under discussion? In sum, it may very well be that Claudius himself suggested to the designer to include Virgil, Horace, and Livy in a monument intended as a testimonial of national faith. To the emperor's way of thinking they were not so much spectators of a scene of which he himself was the center as inspirers of the policies he and Augustus had in common.⁴⁶

SMITH COLLEGE

³⁹ Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 3. 2; 4. 3, 6; 24. 1; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 15. 1; see also H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*, II (Oxford, 1891), 36-37; Momigliano, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Cf. Suet. *Cl.* 21; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 56; Dio lx. 11. 1-5; and see Scramuzza, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-50.

⁴¹ I wish to thank Professor Carpenter for his genuine co-operation in welcoming my views, even when diverging from his, and clarifying certain problems of interest to both of us.

³⁹ See above, n. 12; also Tac. *Ann.* xi. 15 (restoration of the *disciplina Etrusca*); xi. 25. 3 (renovation of the patrician priestly colleges); xi. 11. 1-2 (celebration of the eighth centennial of Rome; cf. Suet. *Cl.* 21. 2; Pl. *NH* vii. 159; viii. 160); xii. 23-24 (extension of the Pomerium); xii. 23. 3 (restoration of the *augurium salutis*). For other archaic ceremonies, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 8. 2; Suet. *Cl.* 22, 25. 5; Jos. *AJ* xix. 274; Dio lx. 23. 1.

⁴⁰ P. Lond. 1912, vss. 24-27, 33-34, 103-4; *CIL*, XIII, 1668, col. ii, vss. 35-37; Suet. *Cl.* 11. 2-3; Dio lx. 4. 6-5. 2.

⁴¹ Suet. *Cl.* 3. 1; see also 21. 2; 41-42; Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 3. 6 and 43. 4; Dio lx. 2. 1.

⁴² Compare Liv. iv. 3-5 with *CIL*, XIII, 1668, col. i. But see Momigliano, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

⁴³ P. Lond. 1912, vss. 36, 105, 108; *CIL*, XIII, 1668, col. ii, vss. 11-12, 24-25; V. 5050 = Dessau, *ILS*, 206 = Bruns, *Fontes*⁷, No. 79, vs. 16.

PART II. DISCUSSION

J. A. O. LARSEN

BEFORE we turn to the question of the bearing of our document on Lycian institutions, it may be well to consider briefly once more the question of the date. In the first place, Kalinka's intimate knowledge of the Lycian inscriptions gives great weight to his judgment—based on the letter forms—that the inscription probably belongs to the first or middle part of the first century B.C.¹² Hence this date should not be rejected without very strong reasons. In the text as given by Kalinka there are a number of features that suggest a later date, namely, references to gladiatorial combats, to *taurobolia*, to a poll tax, and to the *semnotatos dikaiodotes*, which suggests the Roman governor.¹³ On a closer examination these difficulties have disappeared. It has been seen that the reference to gladiatorial combats probably is due to an incorrect restoration and, furthermore, that gladiatorial combats in Lycia in the first century B.C. are not an impossibility. Also the reference to a poll tax seems to be based on a faulty and certainly doubtful restoration. As to the *taurobolia*, it has been seen that the reference is not to the religious blood bath but to a kind of *venatio* that fits in perfectly with the other kinds of *venationes* mentioned in the inscription. Though no early parallel can be cited, the use of the related *kriobolia* as early as the second century B.C. shows

that *taurobolia* would be perfectly natural in the following century. Finally, as to *semnotatos dikaiodotes*, it has been seen that *semnotatos* is not one of the regular honorary appellations of the type of *clarissimus* and that *dikaiodotes* is not a normal title for the Roman governor but seems to represent a usage of the Greek East that antedates the loss of freedom by the Lycian League. To what particular dignitary the word may have been applied in Lycia will be considered below. On the other side there is the *hipparch*. To date a reference to a *hipparch* as an official actually functioning after the loss of freedom of the League would upset all normal interpretations of its history. It is commonly—and without doubt correctly—held that the *hipparchs* belong to the period of independence and that in the later period they are referred to only among the ancestors of prominent Lycians.¹⁴ Thus, since there is no internal evidence which compels us to place the document at a later date, the reference to the *hipparch* is a certain indication that it belongs to the period of independence, in other words, that it antedates A.D. 43. To establish this much is more important than to fix the exact date within the period of independence. At any rate, there is no internal evidence that invalidates the date sug-

¹² "Formas autem litterarum . . . I. saeculo a. Chr. ineunti vel medio tribuere velim" (commentary on *TAM*, II, 508). This cautious statement may well mean that he was aware of the difficulties involved. Properly considered, this gives even greater weight to his judgment.

¹³ So interpreted in *IGR*, III, 681, n. 8.

¹⁴ This is implied already in the account of Fougeres, who discusses *hipparchs* and other military and naval officials only in the section of his book dealing with the institutions in the period before Lycia was made a province (*De Lyciorum communi*, pp. 28–30); see also Kalinka, commentary on *TAM*, II, 508; *IGR*, III, 524, n. 2; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 106 and 405, n. 16; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 238, 243 f.

gested by Kalinka, the first or middle part of the first century B.C.

The question of the bearing of the reference to *archostatai* on the history of the institutions of the Lycian League—the main purpose of this study—can now be treated with relative brevity. There are two pictures of the institutions of the League that at first glance are contradictory. First, there is the picture from the period of independence given by Strabo,¹⁵ in which a representative *synedrion* is an important organ of government and in which there obviously was no federal primary assembly. Secondly, there is the picture presented by the inscriptions, largely of the second century of the Christian era, in which there was both a *koine archairesiake ekklesia* and a federal *boule*.¹⁶ A closer study, however, has shown that the so-called *ekklesia* was itself a representative assembly at the meetings of which there appeared *archostatai*, *bouleutai*, and federal magistrates.¹⁷ Of these apparently the *archostatai* (electors) are the essential and most important members. Is there any connection between the institutions of the two periods, or is it to be thought that Claudius completely destroyed the old League and that an entirely new federal government was organized at a later date? The latter alternative is so unlikely that it seems necessary to postulate some continuity—and this has been done frequently¹⁸—but so far it has been necessary to rely on conjecture and general probability. Now that *archostatai*, who are definitely connected with the *archairesiake ekklesia* of the later period, are found mentioned in an inscription of

the first century B.C., that is, the period to which Strabo's description applies,¹⁹ the continuity can be considered definitely proved.

Though the continuity between the institutions of the two periods has been proved, it still remains difficult to adjust the description of Strabo to the institutions known from the later inscriptions. Jones almost certainly is correct when he maintains that Strabo failed to mention the *boule* and that the body which he calls a *synedrion* was the *ekklesia*.²⁰ He may also be correct in his conjecture that the word *synedrion* was chosen for the reason that to the average reader *ekklesia* suggested a primary assembly.

It remains to be seen whether the information concerning the administration of justice contained in our inscription will fit with the information derived from other sources. A perfectly clear demonstration may prove impossible, and it may be necessary to fall back on conjecture.

Concerning the federal courts of the Lycian League, Strabo reports that they were appointed by the *synedrion*.²¹ Little information is available concerning these courts, but it is likely that there was some connection between them and the *archiphylax*, one of the higher officials of the League.²² Though he is frequently men-

¹⁵ Strabo's description is known to have been derived from Artemidorus of Ephesus (ca. 100 A.C.). Kalinka's date brings our inscription close to his date. Moreover, it is unlikely that there were any great changes in institutions in the period between Artemidorus and Strabo. If there had been, it is, furthermore, likely that they would have been noticed by Strabo.

²⁰ The statement of Jones (*op. cit.*, p. 102) is in less technical language.

²¹ *iv. 665.*

²² Fougères, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 117–19. The importance of the office is indicated in two ways: Inscriptions at times mention that there have been *archiphylakes* among the ancestors or kinsmen of the men honored (*IGR*, III, 495, 584, 585); honors were sometimes voted, both by cities and by the League, for services as *archiphylax* or at least to men who held no higher federal office (*ibid.*, 463; 474. 15–17; 480; 593; 739. II. 1–86 [first honors voted by the League to

¹⁶ *xiv. 664 f.*

¹⁷ *IGR*, III, p. 644 (Index).

¹⁸ *IGR*, III, 473, 492, 739; cf. Fougères, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.; Kell, *CAH*, XI, 591; Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 403, n. 9. I hope to deal with this subject at greater length in the near future.

¹⁹ Fougères, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Ruge, P.-W., XIII, 2276; Kell, *loc. cit.*; Jones, *loc. cit.*

tioned in inscriptions, there seems to be no material for determining the functions of the *archiphylax* except some of the references to his services in decrees of the League from the reign of Hadrian honoring Opramoas and a somewhat later decree honoring a certain Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, who appears to have held the same office not for the entire League but for a section (*synteleia*) of it. The acts for which the *archiphylax* was honored included maintenance of peace,²³ services in connection with the payment of taxes to the Roman authorities and moderation in the collection of the same,²⁴ and the administration of certain tasks entrusted by the governor.²⁵ In one case there is also a reference to the handling of lawsuits entrusted to him;²⁶ and the similarity, though not identity, of phrasing suggests that also some of the work entrusted to him by the governor may have been the holding of court. There seems to be no direct proof that the office existed in the period of independence, but it is natural to believe that it did²⁷ and that it was continued after the loss of independence. If so, the references to the maintenance of peace suggest that the *archiphylax* originally was at the head of the federal police. Support is given to this theory by the existence of a related subordinate federal official, or officials, the *hypophylax*.²⁸ It is

natural to believe also that the municipal *paraphylakes*,²⁹ though elected locally, stood in some relation to the federal *archiphylax*. Thus the latter seems to have been at the head of a considerable hierarchy. It was probably on account of his police authority that he was made responsible for taxes due to Rome. At any rate he was not the treasurer of the League, for there is evidence for a federal treasurer with another title (*tamias*).³⁰ The reference to his activity as a judge

²³ It is clear from *JGR*, III, 516, 640, 649, 650, and 653 that the office was municipal. In 640 and 653 only municipal offices are mentioned; in 516 and 650 municipal and federal offices are distinguished, and in both the *hypophylakia* is the only federal office listed. Though very fragmentary, also *TAM*, II, 710 seems to have contained the record of a man who first served as *paraphylax* and then as federal *hypophylax*. Thus this sequence in the tenure of office seems to have been common. Several men who were honored highly seem to have risen no further.

²⁴ Listed in one cursus from the period of independence (*TAM*, II, 583, quoted on p. 249) and one from the late second or very early third century of the Christian era (E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis* [Wien, 1889], p. 184, No. 237 [earlier and less complete Le B.-W., III, 1222]). The inscription is fragmentary, but the restoration *valuet(sarva)* is certainly correct, and the position of the word shows that the reference is to a federal office. The man in question is Polydeukes, son of Thoas and grandson of Menophilus. An inscription published at a later date (*JGR*, III, 468) records a dedication made according to the will of this same Polydeukes by his heiress to Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta (the latter name has been obliterated). Since Polydeukes probably served as treasurer of the League several years before his death, his tenure of the office is to be placed in the last part of the second century. In Petersen and Luschan, No. 237, the last letters of Polydeukes have been restored, and the editor (Petersen) believed that the name was followed by a numeral indicating that this Polydeukes was the second or third in the line to bear the name. This would make it necessary to date the inscription a generation or two later, since the Polydeukes of the other inscription has no such numeral and Polydeukes II or III would have to be his son or grandson. This, however, cannot be correct, for, if Polydeukes I had had male descendants, he would not have made a woman his sole heir (*JGR*, III, 468). Fougères (*op. cit.*, pp. 30 and 119) knew of no evidence for a federal treasurer either in the period of independence or later. In the earlier period he supposed that there must have been a treasurer; in the later period he believed the charge of the treasury devolved on the *archiphylax*. At the time he wrote, *TAM*, II, 583 was not known, but Petersen and Luschan had been published. However, the inscription in question is so fragmentary that its importance could easily be overlooked.

Opramoas for his services as *archiphylax*; he was honored several times later before he held any higher office).

²³ *JGR*, III, 488; 739. II. 56-58; IV. 67; v. 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 488; 739. II. 58-64; III. 88-90. In IV. 66-67 and v. 28-29 Opramoas' incomparable handling of *ἀνελώματα* is mentioned. Since the same word is used in II. 58, the reference is probably again to the payment of taxes.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 739. IV. 68-71; v. 30-33.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 91-92.

²⁷ Cf. Fougères, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Since the Lycian inscriptions are so widely scattered, it is possible that proof exists in some published inscription which I have overlooked or that it will appear in some inscription yet to be published (cf. n. 30).

²⁸ Numerous references in *JGR*, III, p. 646.

implies that the *archiphylax* was not at the head of the federal courts, for the cases decided by him were entrusted to him by someone else. This implies that some higher authority decided whether he was or was not to have jurisdiction in certain cases. Nevertheless, it is possible that this higher authority was the Roman governor and that the *archiphylax* after all was at the head of the judicial system of the League. On the other hand, his jurisdiction may have been a police-court jurisdiction in connection with the maintenance of order or jurisdiction in cases connected with the collection of taxes.

There is more information concerning the foreign courts employed by the Lycian League. This is derived from three inscriptions of which the pertinent parts are quoted below.

TAM, II, 583 (IGR, III, 563; OGIS, 556)
12-16

καὶ ταμείσαντα τοῦ κοινοῦ
καθαρῶς καὶ ἐπισστατήσαν-
τα τῶν μεταπέμπτων δικασ-
τηρίων καὶ προστάντα τῆς δω-
σιδικίας ἴσως καὶ δικαίως.

From Tlos. Period of independence. In IGR, III, dated shortly before A.D. 43. Dittenberger and Kalinka are inclined to date it considerably earlier.

TAM, II, 420 (IGR, III, 680). 6-8

καὶ νομογρα|φῆσαντα Λυκίοις καὶ ὑποϊπ-
παρχήσαντα καὶ ἐπισστατήσαντα τῶν μετα-
πέμπτων δικαστηρίων | ἴσως.

Patara. Reign of Tiberius, i.e., the last part of the period of independence.

IGR, III, 736. 5-7

ἐν δὲ τῷ Λυκίῳ[ν ἔθνεϊ ἱερατεύ-
σαντα] καὶ ἐπισστατήσαντα τῶν μεταπέν[πτων
καὶ ἀρχι-
φυλα]κήσαντα ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ [τῶν
τέκνων.

First published by Loewy in Petersen and Luschan, *op. cit.*, p. 134, No. 164. In line 6

μεταπέν[πτων is certainly correct. The last legible letter is nu, and in Lycian inscriptions the substitution of nu for mu is common before pi (illustrations in IGR, III, "Index grammaticus," p. 681). Loewy leaves the word incomplete, and Cagnat reads μεταπέ[μτων δικαστηρίων. The latter reading—aside from the unnecessary change of nu to mu and the accidental (?) omission of pi—is too long. It is better to suppose that the noun was omitted and that the institution was so well known that all readers would understand that courts were meant. It is clear that, beginning with line 5, federal offices were listed. What office is listed before the presidency of the courts is uncertain; the one listed after it is almost certainly that of *archiphylax* or *hypophylax*. The inscription is one in which Opramoas, whose own career fell under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, honors his father, Apollonius. Loewy and Cagnat prefer *hypophylax*, but the accounts of the career of Apollonius in IGR, III, 739 suggest that *archiphylax* is correct.

The courts referred to in these inscriptions were first taken to be the regular federal courts of the Lycian League.³¹ Later it was recognized by Dittenberger³² that the expression μεταπέμπτα δικαστήρια did not fit courts which had jurisdiction over cases between cities within the League and citizens of different cities and perhaps even appeals from local courts. Since it was common to summon judges and arbitrators from abroad, he held that the three inscriptions showed that the Lycians had a regular college of judges which could be summoned to the various cities to hold court there. Though his statement is none too clear, he apparently held that the judges were Lycians, so that the court could be described as a circuit court.³³ It may seem presumptuous to say so, but it is surprising that a man with

³¹ IGR, III, 563, n. 6.

³² OGIS, 556, n. 6. In his statement read Lycios for Lycii. This is quoted with approval (and this correction) by Kalinka in his commentaries in TAM, II, 420 and 583. Fougeres gives no help.

³³ Cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v.

Dittenberger's thorough knowledge of inscriptions and sound judgment should make such a mistake. The courts in question are clearly foreign courts—courts with judges summoned from abroad.³⁴ This is the opinion of both Hitzig and Robert; neither, however, has discussed the point at any length.³⁵ It is clear that *μετάπεμπος* was applied as a technical term to foreign judges in the sense of "summoned judges" that were sent at the request of another city. Since the usual procedure was for one city to request a second city to send a judge or judges and since the choice devolved upon this second city, there are many inscriptions that refer to the sending of judges without using the term. Yet it occurs frequently

enough and at times clearly enough as a technical term.³⁶ Also *μετάπεμpton δικαστήριον* occurs at least twice in other inscriptions, once in connection with the sending of a judge from Mylasa in Caria probably to Tralles³⁷ and once in a decree of Mytilene in connection with two judges and a secretary sent from Erythrae,³⁸ and there may well be other cases.³⁹ Thus there can be no doubt but that the *metapempta dikasteria* of the Lycian inscriptions are foreign courts. Some details which need to be considered briefly are the local dignitary who presided over the courts, the apparent regularity with which the courts were used, and their survival into Roman times. There are sufficient other examples of the use of foreign judges by federal leagues, so that this does not call for any remark.⁴⁰

Obviously, some local official or organ of government must have supplied the link between the foreign judges and the local government. This is a subject on which little information is available, but there must have been some authority which prepared the docket of cases to be submitted and which ruled whether particular cases were to go before the foreign judges or some other courts. The docket of over three hundred and fifty cases mentioned in one document⁴¹ must have been prepared before the judges arrived. What little evidence there is suggests that the procedure varied. A decree

³⁴ See examples collected by Robert, *BCH*, L (1926), 473, and cf. LII (1928), 178; add *SEG*, IV, 621.

³⁵ *SEG*, IV, 233.

³⁶ Michel, 357 (*SGDI*, 215; Schwyzler, 623).

³⁷ No effort has been made to cover all inscriptions on the subject, and no one seems to have made a collection of examples similar to the one made for the judges by Robert (cf. n. 36).

³⁸ Some examples are: the Thessalian League (*IG*, IX, 2, 507 and 508; cf. Robert, *BCH*, L [1926], 479, No. XIV); the League of Magnes (*IG*, V, 2, 367; cf. Robert, *BCH*, XLIX [1925], 227, No. VII and L [1926], 482, No. XV); and the Aenian League (*IG*, IX, 2, 8; cf. Robert, *BCH*, XLIX [1925], 221, No. VI).

³⁹ Michel, 417.

³⁴ For a brief general account of such courts with citation of earlier literature see Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, pp. 486–87. The articles by Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa cited there treat the subject too briefly to be of much help. The compact account of E. Sonne (*De arbitris externis* [Göttingen, 1888], pp. 81–91) can still be read with profit. The more recent account by H. F. Hitzig ("Der griechische Fremdenprozess," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Rom. Abt.*, XXVIII [1907], 211–53 at 236–43) is probably the best general account available but needs to be supplemented in the light of later epigraphical finds. An excellent short account is given by W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, pp. 81 f. Artur Steinwenter includes some consideration of the subject in *Die Streitbeendigung durch Urteil, Scheidsspruch und Vergleich nach griechischem Rechte* ("Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung," Vol. VIII [1925]) but is interested almost exclusively in the distinction between settlement by regular lawsuit and settlement out of court. Many inscriptions dealing with foreign judges are discussed by L. Robert in his "Notes d'épigraphie hellénistique," in *BCH*, Vols. XLVIII (1924)–LII (1928) (I have noticed no material on foreign judges in his "Notes" in later volumes); in "Études épigraphiques," in *BCH*, Vol. LII (1928); and in "Études d'épigraphie grecque," in *Revue de philologie*, Vol. LIII (1927). In the latter article (p. 109, n. 2) he promises a critical edition of the decrees dealing with foreign judges and a general study of the subject; cf. also M. Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, p. 613 and *passim*.

³⁵ Hitzig (*op. cit.*, p. 238 and n. 6) cites *OGIS*, 556 (quoted, p. 249) as an illustration of the application of *μεταπεμποι* (sic) to foreign judges without distinguishing between its applications to judges and to courts. Robert (*BCH*, LII [1928], 418) remarks in passing that he recognizes in the *μεταπεμpta δικαστήρια* of Lycian inscriptions "non pas des tribunaux fédéraux, mais des tribunaux venis de villes étrangères."

of the *boule* of Peltae in Phrygia from the second century B.C. records that, when the judge honored had completed his work, the *boule* was sifting the cases on hand that were scheduled to come up before the next court and requested him to remain and help settle some of these cases; the judge accepted and consented to serve together with his fellow-judges.⁴² In this case the *boule* supervised the work of the judges, but this by no means excludes the possibility that there may also have been a single individual presiding over the details of administration, such as is suggested for other cities. At Mytilene, at least on one occasion in the second century B.C., it appears that the *dikastagogos*—an official normally connected with escorting judges to the city and back to their homes—may also have had some supervision over their work or the cases which came before them. At any rate, in a decree honoring two judges and a secretary from Erythrae the *dikastagogos* also is honored for his efforts to see that everything was performed justly and advantageously.⁴³ At Ephesus, in an inscription probably from the early third century B.C., there is a reference to ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου τεταγμένος⁴⁴ in connection with the work of a foreign court. This is the only absolutely clear case that I am able to cite of a single individual put in charge of the foreign court in a city; but it is likely that the practice was not infrequent. The language suggests an individual specially assigned to the task and not a magistrate who included this with his other duties. If a foreign court was summoned only at

irregular intervals, he would be a special commissioner selected for the occasion; if a foreign court functioned at regular intervals, he would assume more of the character of a regular magistrate. Yet, since the foreign courts obviously were not in continuous session and since each court appears to have been specially summoned, he may not have been regarded as such.

In Lycia the foreign courts were presided over by an *epistates*, who was a Lycian citizen.⁴⁵ There must have been a special need for such an official. The *metapempta dikasteria* are always mentioned in the plural. This shows that several courts or panels of judges were summoned at one and the same time, and there must have been someone to apportion the work among them. To my knowledge the noun *epistates* does not occur in this sense in the documents. Instead, the tenure of the office is referred to by the participle of the corresponding verb. The three inscriptions in which the office is referred to do not enable us to assign it a normal place in the *cursus* of a Lycian dignity. In one case the office of *epistates* appears to have been the first federal office held and to have been followed by service as treasurer, priest of Rome, and Lyciarch.⁴⁶ A second *epistates* at some time in his career served as secretary of the League and, apparently before he became *epistates* of the foreign courts, had served as *nomographos* and a cavalry officer.⁴⁷ In the third case

⁴² *Ibid.*, 542; for the somewhat garbled grammar of the document see the commentary on it in *CIG*, 3568 f. Since the decree honors a single judge and a secretary sent by the city of Antandrus, the other judges referred to must have been sent by other cities.

⁴³ Michel, 357.

⁴⁴ *SIG*, 364, 15. For clear proof that the special court so frequently mentioned in the document was a foreign court see II, 52, 87, and 96-97.

⁴⁵ Hitzig (*op. cit.*, p. 239) takes the *epistates* mentioned in some inscriptions to be the most prominent individual of a group of foreign judges. Whatever was the case elsewhere, the three inscriptions referring to the *epistates* in Lycia clearly show that he was a Lycian citizen. These inscriptions have been quoted in part above and will be discussed further.

⁴⁶ *TAM*, II, 583. The statement made above is based on the supposition that the *cursus* is given in descending order. The highest office held—the Lyciarchate—is mentioned first. It may be less certain that the other offices are listed in chronological order; but, if they are, that of *epistates* came first.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 420. The statement made above is based on the supposition that the secretaryship, an impor-

the office of *epistates* was preceded and followed by a federal office. One of these offices appears to have been that of *archi-phylax*.⁴⁸ Thus there is scarcely any similarity at all in the careers of the three men. Though the foreign courts are referred to as a well-known institution, it is impossible to say whether the *epistates* was regarded as a regular magistrate or as a special commissioner elected for a particular task.

The manner in which the *metapempta dikasteria* are referred to indicates further that they were so common that they were regarded almost as a part of the regular machinery of government. There are several cases known of cities which used foreign judges very frequently. There is, for instance, Mylasa in neighboring Caria, where thirteen documents from the temple of Zeus Osogoa contain records of the visits or acts of worship of foreign judges and secretaries at the temple.⁴⁹ In most of these, one judge and one secretary are listed with the *ethnikon* of their state. Along with them, attendants frequently are listed. In some cases there are two judges instead of one, and in two cases the document contains the record of two groups of visitors instead of one. In several the forms of the names suggest that the judges were Roman citizens. Two documents are dated by the names of proconsuls (one is Cornelius Tacitus) to the reign of Domitian, and it is likely that all belong to the same period. Thus at about A.D. 100 Mylasa was summoning foreign judges frequently and probably at

regular intervals.⁵⁰ Similarly Delphi in the second century B.C. frequently summoned foreign judges; but the records do not imply that the city had gone so far as to institute a regular system, though it is noticeable that the Delphians normally called on a city to send three judges or three judges and a secretary.⁵¹ More suggestive of a definite system is the decree from Peltae from the second century B.C., in which in connection with one court there is a reference to cases scheduled to be tried by the next court.⁵² Finally, at Magnesia on the Maeander a decree of the second century B.C. refers to a court which put in its appearance every six months.⁵³ This undoubtedly refers to a foreign court and is the clearest evidence there is for the functioning of such a court at regular intervals. Magnesia, though farther away from Lycia than Mylasa, is still relatively close. Thus, with such activity in its neighborhood, it is not surprising to find

⁴⁸ This is not all the evidence there is for Mylasa. A particularly interesting document is a dicastic stele found at Assos and published by J. R. S. Sterrett (*Papers of the American School at Athens*, I [1885], 26, No. IX). The entire inscription as preserved reads:

Δάνθην Προδίκου δικάσαντα
Μιλασῆς Ἀλαβανδεῖς

The two *ethnika* are enclosed in crowns. Below are the traces of two additional crowns, but the names accompanying them have been lost. The proportions of the stele suggest that it may well have contained six crowns with accompanying names. Thus there is here the record of a citizen of Assos who had served as foreign judge in at least four and probably six states and had been honored by them. This stele seems to have been overlooked by Sonne, though it is important for one question touched on by him (p. 87)—the extent to which foreign judges tended to become experts who served in this capacity more than once. In this connection it is interesting to note that the same pair, father and son—Roman citizens—appeared at Mylasa once as judge and secretary representing the Erythraeans (Le B.-W., III, 353) and once as representing the Ionic League (*BCH*, XIV, 621–22, No. 21). For a second dicastic stele, but one showing a less complicated career, see Sterrett, *op. cit.*, p. 27, No. X.

⁵¹ See G. Daux, *Delphes* (Paris, 1936), pp. 473–82.

⁵² Michel, 542.

⁵³ *Inscripciones von Magnesia am Maeander*, 99, 16: τὸ καθ' ἑξάμηνον παραγινόμενον δικάστηριον. The connection is such that there can be no doubt about the restoration.

tant office, is mentioned out of turn on account of the manner in which it is coupled with other offices held at the same time but that otherwise the federal offices are listed in ascending order.

⁴⁸ *IGR*, III, 736; cf. commentary on p. 249.

⁴⁹ Le B.-W., III, 349–58 (cf. *SEG*, II, 556–63); *BCH*, XIV (1890), 620–23, Nos. 19–21. The last of these is given by Dittenberger, *OGIS*, 487, with important commentary.

also the Lycian League employing foreign courts regularly or at least frequently.

Our three documents mentioning the *metapempta dikasteria*, as indicated in the commentaries appended to the quotations from the three inscriptions, refer to services performed in the last part of the period of independence and in the first part of the second century of the Christian era. That foreign courts should continue to function so late may at first seem surprising, but it is not surprising to those acquainted with the material bearing on the subject. In addition to the case of Mylasa already cited, there are other examples.⁵⁴

Now to return to our inscription, from which we have digressed. It is likely that it is earlier than any of the three inscriptions mentioning the *metapempta dikasteria*, but it clearly reflects the same institutions, though it is possible that the terminology which later became standard had not yet been adopted. It is also possible that our inscription uses unofficial words. The *xenokritai* obviously are foreign judges, the judges of the *metapempta dikasteria*.⁵⁵ It has already been noticed

that there appear to have been several courts or panels of judges; if our inscription is correctly restored, the number of panels at the time was four. It was suggested in the commentary on line 24 that the number of judges in each panel might have been twenty-five. This was based on the supposition that each judge received a largess of the same amount as the *bouleutai* and *archostatai*. The general impression left by the documents dealing with foreign judges is that twenty-five would constitute an unusually large court. Of course, if a city sent one or two judges, this does not prove that the court consisted of one or two judges, for additional judges might be summoned from other states.⁵⁶ It is noticeable, however, that foreign judges are honored individually. That is, even if they co-operated with other judges, the groups were so small that the personality and influence of the individual were felt. This is also shown by the fact that certain individuals were called upon repeatedly, so that they must have been regarded as experts.⁵⁷ Thus it is likely that the panels of judges each contained far less than twenty-five members and that the largesses distributed to them were much greater than those given to the *bouleutai*, *archostatai*, and former magistrates.

⁵⁴ Robert (*BCH*, LII [1928], 417-18) has gathered evidence for the services of Spartans as *dikastagogoi* in imperial times. One of the Spartans who served in this capacity also served as *xenokrites* at Alabanda (*Annals of the British School at Athens*, XXVI, 163, No. A10). Thus this one document supplies evidence for the continued use of foreign judges by two cities; cf. also the inscriptions from Stratoniceia cited in n. 59.

⁵⁵ There is one clear example of *xenokrites* meaning a foreign judge in a Spartan inscription of the second century of the Christian era: *ἑνωσπίρης εἰς Ἀλαβάντα* (*Annals of the British School at Athens*, XXVI, 163, No. A10, ll. 4-5; cf. commentary on p. 180). This can mean only a man sent from Sparta to serve as a judge at Alabanda. The definition of Liddell-Scott-Jones ("title of official at Sparta") is at best misleading. With this clear example and with our knowledge of foreign courts from other sources it is impossible to agree with Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v., that *ἑνωσπίρας* in *IGR*, III, 681 (our inscription) is equivalent to *ἑρωδίας* and that this, in turn, means "judges who tried suits concerning aliens." Of course, such judges existed, but they are not what is meant here. To my knowledge there is no example of *ἑνωσπίρας* (-ρας) used in this sense. Woodward in his commentary on the Spartan inscription states that it "is a word hither-

to unknown, as far as I am aware." The only examples given in the *Lexicon* are the two discussed in this note.

⁵⁶ Evidence for the presence of judges from several states is quite common. Only a few illustrations will be cited. A decree of Ilium (ca. 300 B.C.) honors judges apparently from five cities (*SEG*, IV, 662); a decree of Malla in Crete (second century B.C.) honors one judge from Cnossus and two from Lyttus (*Michel*, 448); a decree of Samos (third century B.C.), while honoring two judges from Myndus, refers also to judges from Miletus and Halicarnassus (*SEG*, I, 363).

⁵⁷ See the examples cited in n. 50; cf. Tarn (*op. cit.*, pp. 81 f.), who believes that the system of large juries was breaking down and "was largely replaced throughout the Hellenistic period by a system under which a commission of one or more judges (dicasts) came from another city and heard all cases entered for trial."

The *dikaiodotes*⁵⁸ of our inscription may correspond to the *epistates* of the other inscriptions. In that case the *epistates* personally presided over the trials referred to in our inscription. Since there were several panels of judges and since the same official could not preside over several courts at the same time, it is more likely that the *dikaiodotes* was the presiding officer of one panel. The inscription seems to imply the use of lot for the selection both of the *dikaiodotes* and of the particular judges. This could be explained by supposing that just as there were four panels of judges—if this is correct—so there were four *dikaiodotai* and that the particular *dikaiodotes* and judges who were to hear a case or group of cases were selected by lot. The four *dikaiodotai* may possibly have been Lycians, but it is more likely that they were selected from among the foreign judges. This would explain the high-sounding adjective (*semnotatos*). This would all be part and parcel of the extravagant honors frequently bestowed on the foreign judges.

Nor need the largess bestowed on the foreign judges cause surprise. The decrees generally mention citizenship, entertainment at the prytaneum, golden crowns, and the like and do not enter much into sordid details. It seems obvious, however, that the judges must have received remuneration for their work, and in at least one case we have direct evidence. An inscription from the period of the Empire records the gift of 200,000 denarii for the pay of a foreign court at Stratoniceia in Caria.⁵⁹ In our inscription the money involved is represented as a gift, not as pay. The special conditions de-

scribed in the document—to be discussed below—imply that the judges undertook a particularly difficult or prolonged series of trials and hence deserved extra remuneration. This was supplied by the “gift” recorded in our inscription.

Finally an attempt will be made to visualize the situation implied in the inscription. This, of course, must be based largely on conjecture. It may be well to start with the remark that the foreign judges obviously preferred to bring about a friendly agreement without having to resort to a formal verdict. It may suffice to recall the case of the five judges who in the last part of the fourth century B.C. went from Iasus in Caria to Calymna on one of the neighboring islands. They found over three hundred and fifty cases waiting for them, succeeded in reconciling most of the disputants, settled a few cases through arbitration, and settled only ten cases by vote after a formal trial.⁶⁰ The emphasis on the numbers suggests that the record was unusually good, but it is clear in general that foreign judges preferred to settle cases out of court. It is natural to suppose that this was true also in Lycia, though, since the judges probably dealt largely with cases in which citizens ran afoul of the federal authorities, formal trials may have been relatively more numerous. However that may have been, at the time the man honored in our inscription intervened it seems that the foreign judges had completed their normal task. There remained on the docket a number of cases so serious that those accused had to furnish bail for their appearance and with such wide ramifications that the entire federal government was involved. Some, if not all, of those accused were fellow-townsmen of the man honored. They may

⁵⁸ In the next to the last line of the translation read *dikaiodotes* for *epistates*.

⁵⁹ *BCH*, XV (1891), 200, No. 142; another copy of the same document, *BCH*, XXVIII (1904), 39, No. 23 A.

⁶⁰ Michel, 417. The distinction between three types of settlement is unusual, but the distinction between reconciliation and formal trial is common (see the examples cited by Steinwenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–55).

have been magistrates of the city so that the relative authority of the federal government and the city government was involved. It obviously was desirable to have the cases settled immediately, but this would place a heavy burden both on the federal authorities and on the foreign judges. In order to remunerate them for their extra work the donor gave liberal largesses to the foreign judges and to the federal *bouleutai*, *archostatai*, and former magistrates. The latter probably were included because some of the offenses had been committed under their administration. If, as has been suggested, the conflict was one over jurisdiction between federal and local authorities, it may have been prolonged for many years. The magistrates in office probably were not included in the largesses for the simple reason that their time was at the disposal of the state.

The donor thus made a speedy settlement of the cases possible. He went further and supplied bail for those accused and served as their advocate before the court and is said to have discharged his task honestly. Though the document is

silent on the subject, let us hope that he was rewarded for his efforts by verdicts of acquittal for those whom he defended. If the cases involved a conflict of jurisdiction, it is possible that the accused were criminals only technically, that the bail was a formality, and that the settlement of the cases cleared the atmosphere and left all parties relatively well satisfied. At least the questions at issue had been settled. It is even possible that the question of jurisdiction involved all cities of the League and that one city was chosen as a test, so that the benefactor who made the trials possible was a benefactor not only of those immediately involved but of the entire League.⁶¹

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

⁶¹ It is too much to expect this reconstruction to be accepted in its entirety. The suggestion that a federal state entrusted the settlement of such vital issues to foreign judges is likely to cause doubt. The reconstruction is based largely on the reference in I. 25 to an *ekdikos* (cf. commentary on II. 25-27), which suggests an advocate who represented the interests of his city before an outside authority. This in turn suggests that the city had run afoul of the federal authorities. There are records of *ekdikoi* who served their communities from Telmissus (Michel, 459, second century B.C.) and Mylasa (*BCH*, V [1881], 101, No. 6; *Le B.-W.*, III, 419), both Carian cities.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

"LONGINUS" CRITICISM OF THEOCRITUS (Περὶ ὕψους 33. 4)

A remark in the Περὶ ὕψους of "Longinus" is the only important critical opinion on Theocritus that we have from antiquity, but the value of the testimony has not been fully realized, because the passage has not been properly explained. In illustrating the point that, in literature, grandeur with a few flaws is preferable to punctiliously correct composition of but moderate excellence, "Longinus" writes (33. 4):¹

ἐπείτοιγε καὶ ἄπτωτος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ποιητὴς κὰν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν ὁ Θεόκριτος ἐπιτυχέστατος, ἀρ' οὖν Ὅμηρος ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐθέλοις γενέσθαι;²

The gist of the passage is obvious: the problem lies in the interpretation of the phrase πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν. An additional difficulty is to be seen in the omission of Theocritus' name from the comparison at the end of the quotation.

Of the many editors of this treatise, few have offered an explanation of the words πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν that qualify ἐπιτυχέστατος. In his edition of 1769, S. F. N. Morus writes:

Sunt in carmine bucolico τὰ ἔξωθεν, locus, occasio, initia colloqui, descriptiones donorum aut praemiorum, de quibus pastores certant. Atque ex hoc genere ille error est (*Id.* I, 36), quem fere post Casaubonum, nescio an temere, reprehensum vidi.³

Morus wishes to say that the few externals in which Theocritus errs are to be found in details, such as place, occasion, beginnings of

conversation, descriptions of gifts and prizes.⁴ These are important points in the structure of the idyll; therefore, if Theocritus failed here, he failed badly. And "Longinus" obviously did not mean that.

Although the explanation of Morus is not the true one and is vague except in one instance, it is much closer to the truth than is that of Spurdens who attaches this note to the troublesome passage:

I am inclined to think that, when Longinus speaks of this poet as ἐπιτυχέστατος, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν, the exception refers, not as some of the commentators imagine, to certain passages in the Idylls not brought down to the level of pastoral life, but to his departure from Pastoral subjects altogether, in search of the epic and the lyric. Thus, τὰ ἔξωθεν would mean subjects that lay out of the track of his genius, which was decidedly suited to pastoral.⁵

True, in the volume entitled Βουκολικά⁶ Theocritus departs from pastoral subjects; but only thirteen of the thirty idylls contain bucolic motives, and, of the thirteen, ten are "mera

¹ In the one example cited by Morus (*Id.* I. 36), Theocritus is blamed because the goatherd, in describing the pictures carved on a mazer, mentions details which, properly, could not be portrayed in an engraving: the goatherd says that the maiden looked laughingly now at one of her lovers, now at the other. According to modern taste, the introduction of such detail in descriptions, to make pictures or engravings under consideration more realistic and lifelike, is frowned upon, but in antiquity the procedure was quite acceptable. Besides the description of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 483 ff.) and of the works of art in the temple of Juno at Carthage (*Aen.* I. 404 ff.), cf. the *Imagines* of the Philostrati. Morus, therefore, is wrong in supposing that "Longinus" takes Theocritus to task on this point.

² *Longinus On the Sublime* (London, 1836), pp. 238 f. In conformity with his opinion, he translates the passage in the text: "... Theocritus, in his Bucolics, with the exception of a few poems foreign from his usual subject, is eminently successful. ..."

³ In antiquity the collected idylls of Theocritus were called Βουκολικά. The bucolic poems, in the strict sense, stood at the beginning of the Theocritean collection and so gave their name to the whole collection (cf. Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* [Berlin, 1906], pp. 127-28).

¹ Citations are made from the edition of W. Rhys Roberts (*Longinus On the Sublime* [Cambridge, 1935]). In this paper the opinion of Rhys Roberts as to date and authorship of the treatise is accepted.

² "Although Apollonius in his *Argonautica* is an infallible poet and in his *Bucolies* Theocritus is, except for a few externals, most happy, even so, would you not rather be Homer than Apollonius?"

³ *Dionysius Longinus, De sublimitate* (Leipzig, 1769). B. Weiske quotes this note in his edition (*Dionysii Longini De sublimitate* [London, 1820]).

rustica."⁷ And so, if "Longinus" had had in mind Theocritus' departure from these subjects, he would scarcely have used the phrase *ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν* in speaking of it.⁸ Furthermore, in suggesting that "Longinus" criticizes Theocritus for turning to epic and lyric subjects, Spurdens fails to appreciate the point that "Longinus" cites Theocritus as an epic poet along with Homer and Apollonius, because he, too, wrote in hexameters. The ancients classified poets according to meter more often than according to subject matter.

Finally, Wilamowitz offers a possible explanation but is not himself convinced of its truth:

Was die getadelten „Äusserlichkeiten" an Theokrits Gedichten sind, ist nicht sicher; wahrscheinlich störende, namentlich gelehrte Einzelheiten, die mit der realistischen Lebensschilderung streiten.⁹

Wilamowitz gives no illustrations to corroborate his opinion and seems to refer to instances of the type indicated by Morus. But if he had in mind passages like *Idyll* i. 67-69, it is doubtful whether "Longinus" would have objected to them. And Theocritus is not, comparatively speaking, notable for learned digressions.

Morus, Spurdens, and Wilamowitz fail to provide a satisfactory interpretation of the phrase *πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν*. Morus and Wilamowitz propose defects of such a nature as to detract seriously from the impression made by the poem as a unit and to reflect upon Theocritus' reputation as a successful poet. Spurdens has missed the point entirely; he implies that Theocritus is *ἐπιτυχεστάτος* in less than half of his poems and fails to note that "Longinus" considers Theocritus an epic poet. These interpretations are clearly untenable, since they lead to conclusions in direct

contradiction to "Longinus'" meaning and destroy the suitability of his choice of illustration.

W. Rhys Roberts and Henri Lebègue, scholars who have done work on "Longinus" recently, make no effort at all to clear up the difficulty. Prickard¹⁰ and Hickie¹¹ construe the phrase accurately in their respective translations, "except as to a few extraneous matters" and "except in a few extraneous particulars," but do not commit themselves to an interpretation.

What, then, are the "few externals" in which Theocritus errs and which are so trivial as not to present a serious obstacle to the acceptance of Theocritus as an eminent poet?

The edition of Theocritus known to "Longinus" was that to which Theon wrote his commentary, notes into which Theon had incorporated those of Asclepiades and which formed the basis upon which all later scholiasts worked.¹² Theon's scholia contained not only information about the myths employed by Theocritus, remarks about Doric forms, and explanations of difficult passages but also notes criticizing passages on moral, aesthetic, and technical grounds. These comments may very well have impressed "Longinus" and suggested to him his qualification of the statement that Theocritus was most happy in his *Bucolics*.¹³

The following errors noted by the scholiast are indeed unimportant in relation to the effect of the individual poem but impair, to a small degree, the perfection of the piece in which they occur:

- i. 3/4i and k. The scholiast criticizes Theocritus for making the first syllable of *αἶκα* long

⁷ Cf. Servius (*Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica commentarii*, III, 1, ed. Thilo and Hagen [Leipzig, 1887], p. 3): "sane sciendum, VII. eclogas esse meras rusticas, quas Theocritus X. habet."

⁸ This objection applies also to Havell's translation, "except when he occasionally attempts another style" (*Longinus On the Sublime* [London, 1890], p. 64).

⁹ *Griechisches Lesebuch*, II, Part II (Berlin, 1902), p. 237. His remarks are accepted by H. F. Müller in *Die Schrift Über das Erhabene* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 78.

¹⁰ *Longinus On the Sublime* (Oxford, 1906), p. 61.

¹¹ *Dionysius Longinus On the Sublime* (London, 1838), p. 78.

¹² Cf. Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*, pp. 110-11, 124, 126, and 128.

¹³ We, of course, have no written proof that all these comments are from the hand of Theon, but it stands to reason that, since his were the basic notes and other scholia were mostly either an amplification or a condensation of them, Theon must have noted the great majority of instances. Furthermore, even if Theon had not indicated these imperfections, "Longinus" would have recognized them himself. They are the sort of thing ancient critics noticed, and, above all, they fit the type of qualification that "Longinus" is making.

- when it should be short according to Doric usage.¹⁴
- i. 72b. Some find fault with Theocritus and say that in Sicily there are no lions. But the addition of the syllable *án* resolves the difficulty, so that it would be: "if there were a lion in Sicily, it would have mourned him."
 - ii. a. . . . Without taste Theocritus borrows Thestylis from the mimes of Sophron.
 - v. 41a. *ἐπύγισον: πυγμαῖς ἔκρουον*: he speaks openly of this disgusting act.
 - v. 141/43b. *φριμάσσειο*. He does not use this word properly, for *φριγμαγμός* is properly the sound made by horses, *βληχή* by goats and sheep. Eupolis in the *Goats* also falls into the same error.
 - vii. 19/20. *σασαρώς*: instead of—"he laughed gently, separating his lips and smiling." He does not use the word well. [The word properly refers to the grinning of a dog.]
 - vii. 36b. *τάχ' ὥτερος*: he has erroneously used *ὥτερος* with *ἄλλον*, for *ἕτερος* is used of two, *ἄλλος* of more. *ὁ ἕτερος* will help *τὸν ἕτερον* with music.
 - vii. 114b. *οὐκ ἐνὶ Νείλῳ δρᾶνός*: he does not at all speak the truth, saying that the Nile is invisible, for the source of the Nile is beyond the Blemians and is not known.
 - vii. 125d. *Μόλων*: outwardly he says this: let one from this palaestra hang himself. But *Μόλων* is meant as a name. [125b. *Μόλων* was Aratus' rival in love.] The words have a double meaning: in palaestra he refers to *τὴν προσκαρτέρησιν παλαίστραν*.
 - xii. 8/9b. *τῶσον ἔμ' εὐφρανᾶς*: a bad comparison. For he should have said: *ὅσον ἔαρ χειμῶνος διαφέρει, τοσοῦτον εἶ καὶ σὺ γλυκύτερος*.
 - xv. 139. The scholiast criticizes Theocritus for saying that Hecuba had twenty children when according to Simonides and Homer she had only nineteen.

The scholiast censures Theocritus four times with respect to usage of words (i. 3/4i and k; v. 141/43b; vii. 19/20, vii. 36b), and seven times for his treatment of ideas and motives. The errors are of such a diversified nature that "Longinus" could not indicate them more specifically than by the phrase *πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν*, without involving himself in a detailed explanation irrelevant to the subject under consideration. Surely, these are minor defects, but they are sufficiently important

¹⁴ References to the scholia are made in accordance with the edition of C. Wendel (*Scholia in Theocritum vetera* [Leipzig, 1914]).

to prevent the critic from giving his unqualified approval of Theocritus' technical skill.

In noting these "few externals" in which Theocritus errs without imperiling his reputation as a poet, "Longinus" seems to refer to the idea that Aristotle expresses in *Poetics*, chap. 25: although, if possible, there should be no error at all in any part of the poem, there is a kind of error which does not reflect upon the poet's inherent ability, the adventitious error (*ἡ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἀμαρτία*) ensuing from the inaccuracy of the original conception. Since mistakes of this kind are extrinsic to, or "outside of," the realm of the poetic art, "Longinus" calls them *τὰ ἔξωθεν*, the "things from outside."¹⁵ Could the use of the adverb in this connection have occurred to him as a result of the scholiast's notation to *Id.* vii. 125d: *ἔξωθεν τοῦτο ἐπιφανεῖ*?

The solution of the meaning of the phrase *πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν* has a direct bearing on the difficulty which has been found at the end of the sentence of which the phrase forms a part. After introducing both Apollonius and Theocritus as examples of poets of but moderate ability, "Longinus" presents only Apollonius in comparison with Homer, whereas one would naturally expect him to mention both. In this respect the manuscript reading is perfectly clear and does not warrant the suspicion that the text is corrupt.

Nevertheless, as early as Tollius, editors of "Longinus" considered it necessary to emend the passage. Some placed the reference to Theocritus within parentheses or square brackets, discounting it entirely; others add *ἢ Θεόκριτος* beside the name of Apollonius.¹⁶ The

¹⁵ "Longinus" employs *ἔξωθεν* twice elsewhere in *Περὶ ὁμοιωμάτων* (7. 1; 22. 4) in the sense of "extraneous matters" or things not appertaining to the subject. These instances, however, throw no light on the significance of the phrase in 33. 4.

¹⁶ E.g., J. Tollius (*Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque, quae reperiri potuerunt* [Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1694], p. 184, note to l. 19) thinks that Longinus actually wrote: *Ἀρ' οὖν Θεόκριτος ἢ ἄλλων, ἢ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδιούσι γενέσθαι, ἢ Ὀμηρος*; while J. Toupius (*Dionysii Longini quae supersunt* [Oxford, 1806], p. 135) puts the phrase *ἐν τοῖς . . . ἐπινηχιστατοῖς* within square brackets. Both men had followers who either adhered strongly to their suggestions or amplified them.

The main clause of the sentence contains a real difficulty which modern scholars ignore, probably because the writer's meaning is so obvious. The interrogative particle *ἄρα* which introduces this section of

proposed emendations reached the peak of absurdity with the suggestion of Weiske¹⁷ that after *γενέσθαι* words of this nature, comparing Theocritus with another bucolic poet whose name is lost, had dropped out: *ἡ καὶ Θεόκριτος μάλλον, ἢ . . . ὅς, ἅπλωτος ἐν τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἥκιστα ἐπιτυχὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βουκολικοῖς*; Fortunately, the tendency of scholarship since 1890 has been to edit the text as it stands in the manuscripts.¹⁸

The desire to emend may have arisen from the failure to appreciate fully the reference to

the sentence expects a negative answer, while the sense requires a positive. The interrogative particle expecting an affirmative answer is, of course, *ἄρ' οὐ*. Z. Pearce (*Dionysii Longini De sublimitate commentarius* [London, 1724], p. 182), therefore, would change *ἄρ' οὐν* to *ἄρ' οὐχ*, but this emendation does not take into consideration the necessity for a transitional adverb, such as *οὐν*, and does not account for the change from *οὐχ* to *οὐν*, which makes the meaning of the sentence utterly absurd. Is it not much more probable that *οὐκ οὐν* originally stood in the sentence and that *οὐκ* fell out because of its similarity to *οὐν*?

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 218 f.

¹⁸ J. Vahlen alone, of the editors since 1890, recapitulates in a note the various suggestions for inserting the name of Theocritus in this passage (O. Jahn and J. Vahlen, *Διονυσίου ἡ Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους* [4th ed.; Leipzig, 1910], p. 63, note to l. 4). In his text he preserves the wording of the manuscripts.

Theocritus. Although Theocritus and Apollonius are equal in point of inspiration, Apollonius is superior to Theocritus in technical skill, since his work is flawless, while Theocritus errs in a few externals. "Longinus," therefore, chooses to mention only Apollonius as the more effective example for comparison with Homer. Why, then, does he mention Theocritus at all? Because in his mind the two men were associated together as epic poets of secondary ability and as Alexandrians. And so both names occurred to him simultaneously, when he sought examples for the point that he was making.

If the foregoing explanation be accepted, we not only recover the bearing of a sentence in *Περὶ ὕψους* but gain a more definite idea of the standing of Theocritus in antiquity. The judicious writer of the treatise, encouraged very likely by the edition of Theon, regarded him as an "epic" poet about equal to Apollonius in talent and uniformity of inspiration, but not, like Apollonius, faultless, since he fails in a few points external to the poetic art.

GRACE B. RUCKH

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

A GREEK PROVERB IN MILTON

Professor Harris Fletcher has called my attention to a metrical line in Milton which is a translation of some classical original not precisely identified by editors.¹ The passage reads: "But most likely the Prelates . . . when they fall they may fall in a generall ruine, just as cruell Tyberius would wish, When I dye. let the earth be rould in flames."²

The line seems to have been originally an iambic senarius from a Greek tragedy (Nauck², *Adesp.* 513): *ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μυχθῆτω πυρὶ*, conjectured by Fabricius³ and others following him to have come from the lost *Bellerophon* or *Sisyphus* of Euripides. It occurs frequently in antiquity, e.g., in Cicero

¹ A note in the Columbia edition of Milton (XVIII, 605), makes a feeble and inaccurate attempt at identification of the line as a "translation of line (by Phrynichus, Comicus?) in Suetonius, *Nero*, 38."

² *Reason of Church Government* (London, 1641), Book I, chap. v, line 15; III, 202 of the Columbia ed.

³ Note on Dio Cassius lviil. 23 in the Hamburg ed. (1752).

(*De fin.* iii. 19. 64), who calls it a popular Greek verse; Seneca (*De clem.* 2. 2); Suetonius (*Nero* 38); Stobaeus (*Ecl.* ii. 7. 13 [p. 121, 12]); *Anth. Pal.* vii. 704). But the first writer to maintain that this old proverb was a favorite expression of Tiberius is Dio Cassius (lviii. 23).

That Dio was among the classical authorities most frequently used by Milton needs little proof. The poet leaned heavily upon him as a source for his *History of Britain* (1670), references to Dio appearing frequently among the bibliographical authorities indicated in the margins; in the *Defensio prima*⁴ he quoted from Dio liii; and among the notes which he made in his own copy of Commelinus, *Rerum Britannicarum . . . scriptores* (Heidelberg, 1587), there is a reference to Dio. It is, therefore, not merely possible but probable that the original source from which this line was

⁴ (London, 1651), p. 112.

translated was Dio. Regarding his studies during the years 1632-38, Milton says that he had "by continuous reading brought down the affairs of the Greeks as far as to the time when they ceased to be Greeks."⁵ Since he completed the first four books of the *History of Britain* early in 1649,⁶ he must have been working upon it about the same time that he was composing the *Reason of Church Government*, and the work of Dio must have been often in his hand.

There remains the possibility, however, that Milton used Dio not directly but at second hand, through another ancient writer who was quoting him; for the line, described as a favorite with Tiberius, appears also in Suidas (s.v. Τιβέριος), one of Milton's standard works of reference; but there seems to be no evidence to show whether or not he used this lexicon in this case.

It is tempting to propose that the line came to the poet's attention when he read the first edition of the *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which was published by Valesius at Paris in 1634. That few new books, of a scholarly nature at least, escaped Milton's attention can be deduced from autobiographical references in his own

⁵ *Fam. ep.* 7 (Masson's translation).

⁶ *Defensio secunda* (London, 1654), p. 94; VIII, 136 of the Columbia ed.

writings, especially the *Defensio secunda*. In pursuance of his study of the ancient historians he may be supposed to have been eager to acquire this volume of excerpts published from the manuscript then in the possession of Nicolas de Fabri, seigneur de Peirese. In this edition a modification of the Dio passage, including the reference to Tiberius, appears in the excerpt from John of Antioch (p. 802).

It is to be observed that in Milton's time the line was a current proverb with which he was undoubtedly familiar. It appears, for example, in John Clarke's *Paroemiologia Anglo-Latina* (London, 1639)—a book designed for use in schools—in the following versions: "For my peck of mault set the kilne on fire; *Me mortuo terra miscetur incendio*"; and Erasmus (*Adagia* i. 3. 80) describes the line as a popular saying. But in this common usage the connection with Tiberius is absent. In fact, Erasmus does not mention Dio or Tiberius, although he discusses three other ancient sources for the quotation. It seems pretty clear, therefore, that the source from which Milton derived the proverb as he used it in the *Reason of Church Government* must have been Dio Cassius, either directly or indirectly.

MARIAN HARMAN

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY

PLATO IN MELEAGER'S GARLAND

It is recognized that the plants of which Meleager composed his garland have all some relation to the lives, characteristics, themes, genre, or style of the poets included in his anthology. So far as I am aware, no one has identified the plant to which Plato is compared (*Anth. Pal.* iv. 1. 47 f.):

Ναὶ μὴν καὶ χρύσειον αἰεὶ θείοιο Πλάτωνος
κλῶνα, τὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντοθι λαμπόμενον.

Presumably a sprig of metallic gold is not intended: it is not likely that Meleager intended his garland to be of flowers and plants with this one exception.

The houseleek (*Sempervivum tectorum*) is called in Greek αἰεῖζων (cf. Theophrastus *Hist. plant.* i. 10. 4 and vii. 15. 2). The tree-houseleek (*Sempervivum arboreum*) is called by Dios-

corides (*De materia medica* iv. 88 [II, 247 f. Wellmann]) αἰεῖζων μέγα. Dioscorides adds the synonyms βούφθαλμον, ζωόφθαλμον, στέργηθρον, and ἀμβροσία.¹ Pseudo-Dioscorides (II, 248, ll. 14-19 [Wellmann]) adds among others the synonyms ἐριθαλές, χρυσίσπερμον, αἰώνιον, ζωόφυτον, αἰείχρυσον, μελίχρυσον, ὀλόχρυσον, χρυσάνθεμον, and χρυσίτις.

The plant, then, to which Meleager compares Plato is the αἰεῖζων and presumably the αἰεῖζων μέγα, as Meleager's χρύσειον αἰεὶ no doubt, if not a reflection of the name αἰείχρυσον, at least was suggested by the qualities of the plant which gave it that name. The mention of this plant in relation to Plato suggests the

¹ For names of plants derived from their longevity cf. R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen* ("Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift," Vol. XLVI [1940], No 1), p. 103.

doctrine of the immortality of the soul—perhaps the most celebrated tenet of Plato—and the word “golden” either glances at Plato’s eloquence, as F. Jacobs supposes, or more

probably refers to Plato’s ἀπὲρῇ (cf. χρυσοῦν γένος, *Rep.* ii. 415a; *Cratylus* 398a).

BENEDICT EINARSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A VERGILIAN ANECDOTE IN SUETONIUS AND DIO

Suetonius and Dio tell an anecdote of Tiberius in connection with his delay in paying the legacies which Augustus had left the people. The story as related by both authors differs only in the matter of detail. A buffoon ran up to a corpse as it was being carried through the Forum on its way to burial and, bending down, whispered something in its ear; when the spectators asked what he had said, he stated that he had sent word to Augustus that the people had not yet received the legacies left them. Tiberius had the fellow put to death at once, in order, as he jokingly remarked, that the buffoon might carry his own message to Augustus.¹

Although the tone of the jest *does* accord with Tiberius’ character,² the historicity of the incident may be open to some doubt (at least to me it does not sound too probable). But there is a striking and interesting literary parallel in Vergil. Priam, deeply incensed at

the impious slaying of his son, Polites, accused Pyrrhus of falsely claiming Achilles as his father, since Achilles had not dealt thus cruelly with him but had respected his rights as a suppliant and had given him Hector’s body for burial. In reply to the aged king, the arrogant Pyrrhus told him to go as messenger and relate this to his father, and then, after admonishing him, in mocking tones, not to forget to tell Achilles of his son’s dreadful deeds, he killed him.³

It is impossible (I think) to say whether Suetonius or Dio or some earlier source consciously reproduced Vergil’s story. Even though one’s confidence in the historicity of the Tiberian anecdote is not enhanced, one may conclude, perhaps, since both authors record the incident as an example of the emperor’s grim humor, that Vergil’s story plus the character of Tiberius’ humor equal a legend about Tiberius.

ANNE TURNER

DUKE UNIVERSITY

¹ *Aen.* ii. 535–50.

¹ Suet. *Tib.* 57. 2; and Dio *lvi.* 14. 1–2.

² See Kenneth Scott, “The Dirltas of Tiberius,” *AJP*, LIII (1932), 139–51.

APOLLO AND SOL AGAIN

Professor Fontenrose, in Volume XXXVIII, page 137, of this *Journal*, argues, and I think rightly, that Vergil¹ cannot be cited to prove that a Latin poet will use Apollo and Sol as interchangeable names. It seems to me that he has omitted a strong reason in favor of his view. In the passage under discussion, Aeneas swears by Sun, Earth, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, and several deities not mentioned by individual names. Latinus answers (ll. 197 ff.):

Haec eadem, Aenea, Terram, Mare, Sidera, iuro,
Latonaque genus duplex. . . .

The argument which Professor Fontenrose is controverting is that Latinus says “I swear by the same gods as you” and that in consequence his list must contain the same names, however disguised, as that of Aeneas. But this is commentators’ fancy,² not Vergil’s text.

¹ *Aen.* xii. 161 ff.

² Beginning with Servius on l. 197.

Aeneas has said, in effect, “I swear by such-and-such deities that we will observe the following terms,” which he then proceeds to state (ll. 183–94). Latinus, I think, answers, “And I swear, by [the gods he names], that we will observe those terms, come what may.” *Iuro*, as any dictionary will testify, can take an accusative of the god or other power by whom the speaker swears or, rather less commonly (because in this sense it usually takes for its complement a clause or clauses, in O.O. or O.R.), an accusative of that which he swears is true. One can say *iurare Iovem lapidem* but also *iurare morbum*.³ To combine the two constructions would be a typically Vergilian variation of commonplace grammar.

H. J. ROSE

ST. ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

³ Cicero *Ad Att.* i. 1. 1.

BOOK REVIEWS

Cicero: De oratore, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoria. Translated by E. W. SUTTON and H. RACKHAM. ("Loeb Classical Library.") Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1942. 2 vols. Pp. xxiii+480; vi+438.

Volume I contains the first two books of the *De oratore*, most of which was translated by Sutton. Rackham finished it and did the whole of Volume II.

The text of the *De oratore* is based on Bétolaud's obscure edition of 1845, although the Introduction says that all earlier editions were supplanted by Wilkins' edition of 1892 (only Vol. III has this date; Vol. I in the third edition dates from 1895, etc.). No mention is made of Wilkins' later edition in the "Oxford Classical Texts." The *De fato* (and presumably the other two treatises also) are based on Nobbe's edition of 1827. Editorial exigencies are no doubt responsible for these choices, but they are regrettable just the same, especially in the case of the *De oratore*. Bétolaud's edition (which is not available to me) could not have made adequate use of the three oldest manuscripts of the *mutili* class; for them we have such editions as those of Friedrich and Wilkins. The work done by Stroux and Martin on the *integri* is partly represented in the edition of Courbaud.

The overuse of commas (for which the basic text was presumably responsible) is most noticeable at the beginning but tends to disappear later. In the first section there are seven commas not found in Wilkins' last edition. This is not a mere trifle, as one is slowed up and even misled by the thickly sown commas. So in *De or.* i. 35 we find: "ne aut de C. Laelii, soceri mei, aut de huius, generi, aut arte, aut gloria detraham." Again in i. 228: "huic humilitati, dicebat vel exsilium fuisse, vel mortem anteponebam."

The translation is, of course, the important thing, and that is, as far as I have checked it, remarkably free from errors of interpretation.

Its style leaves something to be desired, as it smacks a little too much of the classroom. Long Latin sentences are not broken up, with the result that in translation they are even longer than the Latin originals. I noted one that is twenty-five lines long. To me, but perhaps not to most persons, some translations that have been current in Latin classrooms for generations are intolerable: I cannot abide "betake one's self" for *se conferre*, and I do not like such antiquated expressions as "nay," "nay more," "pray," "albeit," "I beg you," "verily," "exhort," "hither," "whither," "how now," "think you." These will do in translating epic poetry but hardly such essays as these. In any case they are out of harmony with some renderings that are more colloquial: surely it is objectionable to use "don't" and "albeit" in the same sentence (iii. 101), or "betake themselves" and "tennis" (as a translation of *pila*) (iii. 58); "nay" and "get a hold on" on the same page (i. 29-30), or "are wont to do" and "papa laying down the law" (i. 131-32), or "pray" (for *vero*) and "cheek" (in the sense of "impudence") (ii. 28-29).

The high style of Crassus' oratory is admirably brought out in "Deliver us out of our woes, . . . suffer us not to be in bondage," etc. (i. 225); but to translate *inquit* by "quoth he" in quoting Lysias, of all men, seems to me absurd (i. 231). So is "featly winged" for the colloquial *bella* (ii. 245).

Yet in the main the translations are often clever and avoid the pitfalls created by the little words, such as *quidem*, *equidem*, *iam*, *autem*, etc. The first two are generally handled very expertly, but with an occasional lapse into "indeed." *Autem* might be turned into "moreover" less often. Some of the translations of *iam* are very good: "really" (i. 58, etc.), "yet" (i. 181). "Nervous" is excellent for *pertimesceret* (i. 123).

Surely "he then looked like persuading me" will not do (i. 93). Not every *socius* is an "ally" (except in Caesar), but sometimes is a "part-

ner" or "associate" (i. 70). *Civitas* is often translated by "community"; this is frequently admirable but sometimes is too narrow, as in i. 211. "He will consult yourself" is queer English (i. 66). "Staseas! what Staseas? what Peripatetic are you talking to me about?" (i. 105) is misleading. The Latin means: "Don't talk to me about a Staseas or a Peripatetic." "The wishes of young men" should read "the wishes of the young men," as Mucius has Cotta and Sulpicius in mind (i. 105). *Ain tu* does not mean "You don't say so!" (i. 165) but "just a moment" or "listen," etc. *Salsus* and *insulsus* are misunderstood. So in ii. 222 *non insulse* is not "shrewdly enough" but "wittily enough," and *salsa* is not "pungent" but "witty" (cf. 228, 239, 240, 251). So, too, *dicta* is not "sayings" but "bon mots." *Imitatio* is badly translated by "mimicry" in ii. 242 but excellently by "caricature" a few lines below. In ii. 268 *res* is "point," not "saying." "Sir Gaius Canius" as a translation of *C. Canius eques Romanus* does not appeal to me (ii. 280). "Nam primum quasi dedita opera neminem scriptorem artis ne mediocriter quidem disertum fuisse dicebat" (i. 91) is wrongly translated as "For in the first place (he would say) not a single writer on rhetoric—it looked as if of set purpose—had been even moderately eloquent." I do not know what this means. It should be translated: "No one who was as it were deliberately [or professionally] a writer on rhetoric ever had been even moderately eloquent." As Wilkins notes, *dedita opera* goes with *fuisse*. A real orator occasionally wrote a little treatise, such as the speaker Antonius himself did (i. 94), but he was not a professional.

Of errors or misprints the following might be noted. The *De oratore* was first printed about 1465, not 1415, and the next three editions followed in five, not fifteen, years (p. xxii); in the exceedingly brief statement about editions these remarks are unnecessary and badly selected. Cicero was not "successively augur, quaestor, aedile," etc. (on i. 1), but was elected augur years after his consulship. The statement that *pila* was "no definite game but a series of gymnastic exercises" (on i. 217) is misleading if not wrong; the word often implied a definite game, such as *trigon*. A comma is needed before *nam* in ii. 3. In ii. 265 read

Greek for Greeks. Heroic meter does not include iambus, tribrach, and dactyl (on iii. 182). Tusculum was fifteen miles from Rome, not ten (on *De fato* 28).

I shall add some observations of my own on the *De oratore*.

i. 32.—"Ne semper forum, subsellia, rostra, curiamque meditere." Editors point out that *forum* includes the other three but do not observe that in i. 35 the names of these three structures are supplanted by the bodies that meet in or on them: "remoto foro, contione, iudicii, senatu," where *contione* refers to *rostra*, *iudicii* to *subsellia*, *senatu* to *curia*.

i. 32.—In "sermo facetus ac nulla in re rudis," *facetus* is not clearly explained by editors; Wilkins' "brilliant" is ambiguous. It is the opposite of *rudis* and therefore means "polished." Cf. *Or.* 20: "alii callidi sed impoliti et consulto rudium similes et imperitorum, alii . . . concinniores, id est, faceti" (see Sandys' note).

i. 133.—"Nostro more aliquando, non rhetorico, loquamur." Editors take *nostro* as equivalent to *meo* (of Crassus, the speaker) or as referring to statesmen, not rhetoricians. But Cicero often uses *nostro more* in the sense of *Romano more*, "straight from the shoulder, in Roman fashion," as contrasted with the tricky methods of the Greeks; the Greek word *rhetorico* is practically the equivalent of *Graeco*.

ii. 326.—Cicero begins with the words "Narrare vero rem quod breviter iubent." Who "they" are is not revealed to us by the editors. The context makes clear, however, that Cicero is thinking of the Atticists. He grudgingly admits that brevity is desirable—if you accept his definition of brevity. Brevity often causes obscurity (a common criticism of the plain style used by the Atticists), Cicero adds, and takes away all ornament. Then he quotes a line from Terence's *Andria* (51):

Nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis,

adding the comment: "Quam longa est narratio!" The point is, I think, this: Terence was praised by the Atticists (e.g., Caesar) for the excellence of his plain style—and yet he has a long *narratio*. Cicero implies: "Even your favorite Terence is not always brief." But, Cicero continues, if Terence had tried to be as brief as later in the play (ll. 117, 127), he

could have finished his earlier *narratio* in ten lines. Now two scholars, Deutsch and Gilmer, independently suggest that Caesar's *veni, vidi, vici* owed its inception to Terence's influence.¹ Both point to Caesar's admiration of Terence, and Gilmer includes *And.* 117 and 127 (which Cicero quotes) among the parallels. This pairing of Caesar and Terence on the basis of brevity seems to confirm my interpretation of the Ciceronian passage as an allusion to Atticism. Cicero then goes on to explain at some length the need of clearness in the *narratio*—a clearness which is often lacking, as I have said, in the plain style of the Atticists. But he then makes a concession to the Atticists by saying that clearness can be attained by employment of *verbis usitatis*, by following the chronological order, and by avoidance of digressions. This is good Atticistic doctrine. Much more could be said about Atticistic and opposing views in the *De oratore*.

It is interesting to note how Cicero suits the language and style, as well as the sentiment, to the speaker or subject. Here are a few examples. Crassus had been modest about his abilities as an orator. The young Cotta, in good-humored irony, accepts Crassus' estimate of himself: "*ista tua medioeri eloquentia*" (i. 133). It is to be noted that Cotta was a devotee of the plain style—and irony belonged to that style. A few lines below, Sulpicius, who affected the grand style, speaks in a strikingly different manner, utilizing apostrophe and balance: "*O diem, Cotta, nobis optatum*," etc. (i. 136). In the same way he uses apostrophe in describing the grand style of Crassus (*trae-goe-diis*): "*Pro di immortales, quae fuit illa, quanta vis!*" (ii. 225).

When Cicero becomes enthusiastic about the beauties of the rhythm and thought and language of a speech, he exemplifies his point in the very discussion (ii. 34). There are six questions, arranged in pairs. The first pair deals with the rhythm, the second with the thought, the third with the language. The first pair contains 40 syllables (21 and 19); the second, 39 (22 and 17); the third, 36 (18 and 18). The first four sentences all end in the favored double cretic, the fifth in cretic plus trochee, the sixth in a more elaborate form: molossus

(with first long resolved) plus cretic. The introductory words fall into a pattern, but not a monotonous one: *qui, quod, qui, quid, quid, quid*. The first two pairs have *qui* in common, the last two have *quid*. In the first three sentences the comparative adjective is at or near the end and the ablative of comparison is used with it; in the last three the comparative is near the beginning and is followed by *quam*. In ii. 337, in praising the grand style, he uses a highly rhetorical period, with alliteration, balance, correlatives, ending up with one of his favorite rhythmical forms, *crudelitate revocandos* (the *esse videatur* form). In iii. 53 Crassus defines the grand style (*ornate dicere*) and in so doing gives a good example: first a series of four short questions introduced by *in quo, quem, in quo, quem*, in this artificial alternating arrangement. Then follows the relative *qui*, four times, each time followed by a different adverb (*qui distince*, etc.). Correlatives and pairs are also used, and the whole ends with: "*id est quod dico ornate*." The clausula consists of molossus and trochee. Cicero, of course, writes such sentences elsewhere, but my point is that he never misses the chance of using them when the subject is appropriate. When he discusses clausula rhythm and mentions the cretic, he ends with "*ei pari cretico*"—a double cretic (iii. 193).

Cicero's favorite example of the *ne plus ultra* of the high style is calling one back from the dead: "*dicendo a mortuis excitasses*" (i. 245, addressed to Crassus, master of the grand style). So in *Or.* 85 he says that the user of the plain style "*nec ab inferis mortuos excitabit*" (cf. *Top.* 45 and *Br.* 322, applied to Cicero himself). The expression is used a number of times in Cicero's speeches, sometimes in clear allusion to style (*Cael.* 33, *Sen.* 25, perhaps *Cat.* ii. 20).

iii. 169.—Here Crassus speaks about "mis-using" (*abutumur*) a word, as *grandem orationem* for *longam*. The Latin term is technical, referring to catachresis (cf. *Or.* 94). This must be kept in mind in interpreting a sentence a few lines later (171). Crassus quotes Lucilius as attributing a line to Crassus' father-in-law, Scaevola:

Crassum habeo generum, ne rhetoricoterus tu sis.

¹ *Phil. Quart.*, IV (1925), 151, 157.

Then Crassus adds, apostrophizing Lucilius: "Quid ergo? Iste Crassus, quoniam eius abuteris nomine, quid efficit?" The word *abuteris* should not be translated "drag in," as is done by Wilkins and Rackham, but as "misuse" in the sense indicated in 169. In other words, there is a pun on the name Crassus. Does it mean "stupid," a not uncommon meaning of *crassus*? No, for that does not fit the rest of the sentence and besides would not be a proper catachresis. Rather it is synonymous with *tumidus* and *turgidus* as applied to style: "turgid."² This fits neatly with the end of the line: "Don't get too grand (in your style) for I have a grand (style) son-in-law."

ii. 219.—It is stated that in the continuous, pervasive type of humor (*perpetua festivitas*) there are "imitatores et narratores facetos, adiuvante et vultu et voce et ipso genere sermonis." *Vultu et voce* belong with *imitatores*, and *genere sermonis* with *narratores*. This is proved by a comparison with 240-43. There it is explained that there are two kinds of humor, one of which depends on *re*, "thought." (This is identical with the *perpetua festivitas* of 219, as is shown by 243: "duo genera . . . in *re*, . . . quae sunt propria perpetuarum facetiarum.") This in turn is of two sorts; one is the art of storytelling (*fabella narratur, narratio*), the other is caricature (*imitatio vultus et vocis*).

ii. 251-52.—Here he says:

Quid enim potest esse tam ridiculum quam sannio est? Sed ore, vultu, imitandis moribus, voce, denique corpore ridetur ipso; salsum hunc possum dicere atque ita, non ut eius modi oratorem esse velim, sed ut mimum. Qua re primum genus hoc, quod risum vel maxime movet, non est nostrum: morosum, superstitiosum, suspiciosum, gloriosum, stultum; naturae ridetur ipsae, quas personas agitare solemus, non sustinere. Alterum genus est in imitatione . . . ; tertium, oris depravatio . . . ; quartum, obscenitas.

Many editors bracket *imitandis moribus* (which is vouched for by Nonius as well as by the Cicero manuscripts), but I think that it is correct. All the points in this sentence are taken up un-

der the four heads that follow, though not in order. *Ore* is repeated by the third, *oris depravatio*. *Corpore* is explained by the fourth, *obscenitas* (that this does not mean verbal obscenity is clear from 242, *rerum obscenitate*, which the Loeb edition correctly renders by "offensive gestures"). *Vultu* and *voce* are taken up by the second, *imitatio*, as is obvious by a comparison with 219 and 240-42, discussed in my preceding paragraph. To clinch the matter, in the same section 242, after mention of Roscius' amusing portrayal of an old man, the orator had been cautioned against overuse of this *imitatio*, as it belongs to the mimes and farces: he may merely steal a bit of it (*surripiat*) from them. So in the passage under discussion (251) he has the same caution ("furtim tantum uti licet, si quando, et cursim; aliter enim minime est liberale"). So we can be sure that the *imitatio* includes *vultu* and *voce*.

Lastly, *moribus* is taken up by *morosum*, etc. Not only is the latter etymologically related to the former, but in 279 we find: "Me tamen hercule etiam illa valde movent stomachosa et quasi submorosa ridicula, non cum a moroso dicuntur; tum enim non sal, sed natura ridetur." The orator may pretend to be cranky, if it is apparent that he is pretending; he must not take on the role of a cranky person. Furthermore "natura ridetur" repeats "naturae ridetur" of 251. The *stultus* is mentioned in 274, and the orator is once more warned to avoid the *genus mimicum*.

Imitandis moribus is, then, essential to the sense of the passage. But the position of *imitandis* shows that it is also to be taken closely with the preceding word, *vultu*, by the ἀπό κοινοῦ construction. In a wider sense it belongs to the whole sentence, for all the items mentioned in it belong to the mimic art, as Cicero says. It is made to modify *moribus* because that needs its support more than do the other words.

B. L. ULLMAN

University of Chicago

The Building of Eternal Rome. By EDWARD KENNARD RAND. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943. Pp. xi+318. \$3.50.

Readers of Mr. Rand's articles and books, as they peruse his latest volume, will meet many

² I think that in Hor. *Serm.* II. 5. 40 *pinguis* (a synonym of *crassus*) is used in the same way, though more obliquely, in the designation of the epic poet Furius as "pingui tentus omaso." This Furius has been identified with the Alpinus of *Serm.* I. 10. 36, where he is called *turgidus*.

old friends, for, in composing these eight lectures delivered last spring in the Lowell Institute, he has made extensive use of his earlier writings. Nevertheless, this book is far from being a mere cento culled from his published works. Substantial portions of it are new, some topics discussed briefly before now receive fuller treatment, and, above all, the various parts have been fused together into a philosophic and artistic whole—an essay on the abiding power and significance of Eternal Rome. Ennius and Polybius, Cicero, Augustus and the Augustan poets, Livy and Tacitus, Fronto, some Latin Fathers headed by Augustine, Dante, as well as many lesser figures—all are there—and Mr. Rand has much that is wise and penetrating to say about them in the easy and graceful style that his many admirers know so well. Then, near the end, our Scipio, weighed down by gloomy thoughts about the world we live in, falls asleep, and there comes to him a dream in which he discourses with great writers of the past. This *Somnium Kennardi*, compounded of sincere belief, kindly humor, and rare literary art, forms a fitting climax to a book which should be read and pondered over, a book “multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis.”

One purpose of this volume, as becomes clear in the last lecture, is to make a strong plea for liberal education based on the study of the Greek and Latin classics. If this apologia is not wholly convincing in all its parts, it is perhaps because it fails to achieve complete fairness in presentation. Mr. Rand is often disposed to present only one side of the case. This is apparent in several ways: in a certain impatience, good-tempered yet clearly perceptible, with Historians, Higher Critics, and Doubting Thomases generally; in the manner, seen most clearly in the footnotes, in which modern books of extremely varying merit are uniformly praised; and, above all, in occasional oversimplification of complex problems and a reluctance to face inconvenient facts squarely. He is, for example, seemingly prepared (p. 14) to take at its face value the claim of Flamininus that “it was not the Roman way to exterminate their adversaries” and that the Romans were “mild and humane” to their enemies when they had submitted. What, then, of the

atrocities in Epirus, carried out, in accordance with orders from the senate, by Aemilius Paulus, or the long record of misgovernment and treachery in Spain, from its annexation right down to the culminating savagery of Numan-tia? Mr. Rand has much that is admirable to say about the ideal empire of Augustus; but he would make Virgil and Horace not merely the organizers of public opinion in favor of Augustus’ reconstruction but Virgil, at least in some sort, Augustus’ tutor (p. 77, n. 138). Maecenas receives a passing mention only as one of the “planners” with the two poets. Agrippa appears merely as a man of war and as the husband of Julia, whom Mr. Rand (*vae pudor!*) describes as a “soulful young woman” and does his best to whitewash. He is, of course, aware that the nature of the Augustan principate is a complicated problem; but his final comment (p. 78), that “Augustus steered a *via media* between Caesar’s monarchism and the old-fashioned government by the senate,” evades the real issue and ignores much important work that has been done on the subject in recent years. The statement that Plutarch’s “*Parallel Lives* are a mirror of that Ideal Augustan Empire that drew its strength from the *mores* of ancient times” (p. 212) remains incomprehensible, even after a reading of notes 4 and 5 on the same and the following pages.

Charlemagne, as interpreted by Mr. Rand, modeled himself on Augustus; among other things, he interested himself in the education of his people. The second proposition at least is indisputable; but, by referring only to Bor-etius’ edition of the letter *De litteris colendis*, Mr. Rand makes one part of the evidence appear stronger than it is. He does not mention the contemporary copy of the letter written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, which was discovered and published by Paul Lehmann (*Sitzungsberichte, Münch. Akad., Phil.-hist. Klasse* [1927], Abh. 2, pp. 3–13). It differs textually from the later version of the eleventh century and makes it highly probable that Charlemagne’s epistle was at first addressed only to the abbot and congregation of Fulda. Subsequently it was transmitted to some German diocese (Mainz or Metz?) for wider distribution; but there is no proof that the communication was ever sent to all educational centers in the Empire. An-

other figure in Mr. Rand's gallery of eminent men is Gerbert, whose "chief service to his day was to give a wider vogue to the science of the Arabs" (p. 261). I will leave it to historians of science to dispute the accuracy of this assertion; but I must observe that Mr. Rand, when he makes Gerbert the pupil of Arabic masters in Cordova and Seville, uncritically follows the late medieval tradition and ignores the testimony of Gerbert's contemporary and admirer, who is our chief source for the Gerbert of history rather than of legend. Richer (iii. 43) relates that Gerbert went to Spain and became the pupil of Hatto. But Hatto was bishop of Vich in Catalonia, an area tied to France at this time not only politically but also culturally, as a study of the Ripoll manuscripts shows. Byzantium (p. 255) "fell not only for a military assault but for the sin of pride." If I understand our author rightly, he would attribute the fall of the Byzantine Empire in the last analysis to the separation of the Greek Orthodox from the Roman Catholic church. This is simplification of historical processes with a vengeance; but I will not tread further on such delicate ground. In the last two chapters of this book there are many judgments before which a critic who respects, even though he may not share, his fellow-man's beliefs must needs keep silence.

Some points of detail call for comment. In three places (pp. 5, 7, and 110) Philip V instead of Perseus appears as the antagonist of Aemilius Paullus; conversely, Flamininus is made to win the battle of Pydna (p. 14). Can it be that among his secret treasures Mr. Rand possesses a manuscript, copied by his old friend, Adalboldus, of Livy's second decade? For he speaks (p. 39) of forty-five extant books of the *History*. Cicero's political career, we are told (p. 19), was ended before he began to write *De re publica* in 55 B.C. Are those eighteen months, from March, 44, to December, 43, when Cicero was the heart and soul of senatorial opposition to rival aspirants for power, to count for nothing? The parable of the belly and the members told by Menenius Agrippa cannot have been Livy's own invention. The form that Livy gave to the story was doubtless his own, but the parable itself is far older, as Wilhelm Nestle has shown (*Klio*, XXI [1927], 350-60). Editors

tend to assume that Livy found the story in one of his sources, but it seems much more probable, in the light of Nestle's article, that it was an *exemplum* learned by Livy in his student days and never forgotten. The disappearance of Latin in the Byzantine world (pp. 234-35) does not appear to have been complete in the case of legal training. Miss J. M. Hussey in her recent study, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1937), p. 56, points out that, when the University of Constantinople was reopened in 1045, the head of the law school was required to have an accurate knowledge of both Greek and Latin.

A pointed antithesis can be illuminating; it can also prove a boomerang. Mr. Rand, after remarking (p. 216) with perfect justice that "some study of art is necessary for the understanding of the literature of any country" and suggesting that acquaintance with Florentine buildings helps to a better understanding of Dante or Michelangelo's sonnets, continues: "Or conversely, to form a picture of Dr. Johnson standing in the portal of Notre Dame de Chartres or on the steps of the Parthenon is to put a merciless strain on the imagination." Johnson visited France in 1775 and kept a diary on his travels. Far from being insensible to medieval architecture, he records his admiration for a church at Compiègne and for the cathedrals at Noyon and Cambrai. This is what he says of the last-named: "Nov. 5. Sunday. We saw the Cathedral.—It is very beautiful, with chapels on each side.—The choir splendid.—The balustrade in one part brass.—The Neff very high and grand.—The altar silver as far as it is seen.—The vestments very splendid" (Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, eds. Hill and Powell, II, 401). Can we doubt that he would have written in a similar vein of Chartres, had he visited it? And I venture to assert that a visit to Athens would have found him no less responsive to the austere beauty of Greek architecture. Johnson most of his life was handicapped by poor eyesight; but it is only those who do not know him well who persist in the false belief that he was insensible to art or even natural scenery.

A good book does not become less good, if it arouses occasional dissent on the reader's part. The author of this volume, as man and scholar,

has much to teach us; for is he not the very counterpart of Martial's friend?

Si quis Cecropiae madidus Latiaeque Minervae
Artibus, et vera simplicitate bonus,
Si quis erit recti custos, imitator honesti,
Et nihil arcano qui roget ore deos,
Si quis erit magnae subnixus robore mentis,
Dispeream, si non hic Decianus erit.

M. L. W. LAISTNER

Cornell University

T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD and STANLEY BARNEY SMITH. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1942. Pp. ix+886. \$5.00.

The scope of this immense volume may best be indicated by an enumeration of its main divisions. First (pp. 1-91) is a "General Introduction: Lucretius: The Man, the Poet, and the Times," by Professor Leonard. Herein are discussed the old problems of Lucretius' life, his character, his relation to Cicero and Memmius, his sources both poetic and philosophical, the quality and significance of his work, and the history of the text.

The next section of the work is the "Introduction to the Commentary" by Professor Smith (pp. 93-186). This essay treats in considerable detail the text of Lucretius and his diction and style. Under the former heading are discussed the manuscripts, the principal editions, and the textual errors. Under the latter heading are included archaism, fluidity of diction and orthography, meter, rhetorical elements of Lucretius' style, and a concluding survey of Lucretius' style.

After a brief bibliography (pp. 187-89) and an explanation of typographical devices (p. 190) comes the text, with commentary beneath it. The text is very conservative, as the editors themselves state, and all deviations from the text of the "Ancient Manuscripts" are clearly marked. There are discussions in the notes of the more important textual problems, but there is no systematic presentation of variants. Besides textual information, the commentary includes suggested English equivalents for many of Lucretius' words and phrases, comments on syntax, morphology,

meter, and style (with special attention to metaphors), explanations of allusions of all kinds, citation of literary and philosophic parallels in both prior and subsequent literature, an analysis of the arguments of the poem, and an outline of its structure. This last feature is particularly prominent, as the editors have printed at the beginning of each book their own outline of the contents of the book, followed by the list of *Capitula*. The main divisions of the outline are then marked in the margin of the text by the appropriate numbers and letters and are discussed in the notes. The *Capitula* are also printed in the text.

Finally, the volume contains two indexes, an "Index of Ancient Sources Cited" and a "General Index."

The large amount of detailed work involved in the preparation of this edition bespeaks the care and industry of the editors; and that very small portion that I have had occasion to check is for the most part free from error. Professor Ullman has pointed out to me that a Laurentian MS (No. 14 on p. 113) has been wrongly assigned to the Vatican Library. I noted two misprints, one in "extensive" (p. 534, note to ll. 127-28), the other in "*φαντασίας*" (p. 592, note to l. 781). The Index of Ancient Sources Cited seems to be complete, but the General Index of necessity contains only a limited selection of topics and page references.

This vast collection of material cannot fail to be useful to both beginners and veterans in the study of the *De rerum natura*. Yet its very extensiveness makes it liable to criticism. Embracing as it does so many fields of classical scholarship, it cannot give discussions of them that are sufficiently precise for the expert or sufficiently coherent for the novice. For instance, the Epicurean method of proof is discussed briefly in the General Introduction (pp. 42-43, 46-47) and intermittently in the notes. But there is no connection between the various accounts. The first point in Lucretius' presentation of atomism is, according to the notes, a "definition" of "substance" (p. 219). The proofs that Lucretius uses in the first book involve, among other things, a syllogism (p. 222), an assumption (p. 225), and an axiom (p. 226). But, according to the Introduction, the Epicureans rejected Aristotelian logic and such

"dialectical" procedures as definition and deduction in favor of an inductive logic (pp. 42, 46-47). An adequate discussion of this matter might have removed the seeming inconsistency and thus improved both the accuracy and the usefulness of the edition.

A similar lack of clarity and precision may be seen in the treatment of Lucretius' sources. The editors, following the usual tradition, make a rather rigid distinction between philosophic content, or "science," which was taken from Epicurus, and poetic expression, which was the result of Lucretius' own imaginative experience, as influenced and guided by such masters as Empedocles and Ennius. Yet the superficiality of this distinction is shown by the editors themselves in their notes on specific passages of the text. It appears, for instance, that not all of Lucretius' "science" comes from Epicurus. Antigonus (p. 837), Chrysippus (p. 792), and especially Varro (pp. 623, 631, 706, 777, 835) and Posidonius (pp. 723, 737, 777, 818) are suggested as sources. Frequently the editors find closer parallels of idea between Lucretius and certain later non-Epicurean works, such as Cicero's *Tusculans* (e.g., pp. 493, 495-97, 499) or Seneca's *Natural Questions* (e.g., pp. 813-14, 816-17, 853), than between Lucretius and other Epicureans. No explanation of this circumstance is given; but presumably it shows a closer interaction of the Hellenistic philosophic schools than is anywhere acknowledged in the Introduction.

The extensive notes reveal also that the relation of Lucretius to the poetic tradition includes far more than mere poetic expression. The attack on love, for example (pp. 616 ff.), is compared to the Greek tragedians and to the Latin writers of satire, lyric, and epic. The editors presume that the ultimate source of this attack was Epicurus (p. 38), but parallels cited from Epicurean sources are very scant and quite vague in character.¹ Here, as elsewhere, no interpretation is given of the similarities between, say, Lucretius and the satires of Horace and Juvenal. Is it merely a case of borrowing on the part of the later poets; or did Lucretius himself take certain moral doctrines from the satiric and other non-Epicurean poetic tradi-

tions? Some attempt on the part of the editors to explain to the student the significance of the parallels cited in the notes would have aided greatly in understanding Lucretius' poem and his place in the history of literature.

Other deficiencies in the edition may be noted by anyone who, like myself, has rather fixed ideas of what he considers important in the study of Lucretius. Obviously, no edition could satisfy everyone. The fact remains that the editors have assembled a tremendous amount of material which will undoubtedly prove of great value to the students of Lucretius.

PHILLIP DE LACY

University of Chicago

The Challenge of the Greek. By T. R. GLOVER.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. x+241. \$2.75.

Dr. Glover states: "It is the man that matters" (pp. 25, 28). Now it has been a popular pursuit, at least since the time of Aristophanes, to judge the writer by his work—*οἷα μὲν ποιεῖ λέγειν, τοῖός ἐστιν*, as the Satyros *Life of Euripides* has it. That this frequently is illegitimate, scholars have recognized. In the present case, however, there can be no objection; the author tells us: "The autobiography of his own life without set design or conscious purpose, is written in these pages" (Preface, p. x). Hence a reviewer may be justified in considering not the book but the writer, and the writer as revealed in this particular book.

First of all, it can be readily established from the book itself that the author is not a disciple of the cult of *Wissenschaft*. He expresses himself strongly against the pedantry of Jebb, Bury, and Housman (pp. 19, 20, 21, 25, 26). Throughout the volume, despite numerous notes from Pliny and Strabo concerning such things as the introduction of the peach tree and the method of drying salt, there is just one footnote (p. 213) referring to a work of classical scholarship in German (there are two to English translations, pp. 50, 51) and one to a comparable work in French (p. 80). Not a single inscription is cited, even in the historical essays. In the essay which contributes one new fact of historical significance, "Feeding

¹ Cf. J. B. Stearns, "Epicurus and Lucretius on Love," *Class. Jour.*, XXXI (1936), 343-51.

the Athenians," the author magnificently ignores the work of all scholars, German, English, or American. And, judging by his remarks in the second essay of the collection, "Purpose in Classical Studies," he is proud of it.

The title essay was originally the British Broadcasting Company National Lecture, delivered on December 19, 1934 (the Preface, p. ix, states December, 1935, as the date, but cf. the *Listener* of December 27, 1934, pp. 1051-53, 1075-76). It was also reprinted, although the author does not tell us so, in the *Forum* of happy memory for May, 1935 (XCIII, 1071-75). There was some excuse in 1934 and 1935 for even an intelligent person's asserting that he believes in "peace, slum-clearance, disarmament, all sorts of splendid things" (p. 4). There can be no excuse for reprinting this in England in 1942. Again, the author states: "Russia (I speak from a distance) seems intent on producing citizens of a single type; Italy and Germany (we are told) do not encourage the multiplication of independent types" (p. 10). Is this necessary or even desirable in 1942?

The author expresses a typically Tory attitude toward democracy and democratic processes. For example, he states that "in art background and some kind of a grandfather are essential" (p. 15). Again: "But years of observation in Canada and America may raise the doubt in any man's mind whether democratic control is good for education" (p. 13). Again: "Hesiod would have little but contempt for the labour party of to-day, with its dreams—'rich in fancy'—and its talk and the places where it talks, worse, he would say, than the smithy" (p. 58). Finally: "No doubt there is something great in team-work, something big in democracy; but the poets prefer a man; who could write an epinikion for a committee? or for a cabinet?" (P. 164.)

Nor can the book possibly be conceived as a contribution to the cementing of friendship among the United Nations unless the references to Russia and the following ones to the United States can be so interpreted by a subtler mind than mine: "Indeed it is hardly flip-pant to suggest that the American school seems one of the great grounds of hope for the British Empire" (p. 15). "Perhaps England is not as

yet so devoted to Domestic Science as America; in a land of no servants, if home is to be domestic, every woman must know, if not how to cook, at least how to put purchased ice-cream on a plate" (p. 14).

Dr. Glover's chief recommendations for the study of the classics are "their contribution to the making of men and citizens" (p. 23) and the enjoyment of literature (p. 23). We have seen what kind of men and citizens the author approves. The book offers ample evidence, likewise, of the kind of literature which its author enjoys, both in content and style. One of the longest essays in the volume is "The Gastronomers," a not very penetrating discourse on the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus. Pliny, Strabo, Theophrastus, and Pausanias appear all too frequently in text and footnotes; likewise such comparatively modern works as Tansley, *The British Isles and Their Vegetation*; Manatt, *Aegean Days*; McPherson, *Primitive Beliefs in the North East of Scotland*; and Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*. That various Oxonians in reviews of this book can pass over in silence the statement, "the finest contribution Oxford has made to literature,—*Alice*" (p. 129) is to me incredible. The predilection for whimsy appears repeatedly, especially in the style. For example, "A little Geography now, but without isotherms" (p. 121); "the whole conception of cobbling up epics grows quaint" (p. 184); "so much for the harbour; but the harbour is not all" (p. 75); "but did he not also laugh once more—a little?" (Pp. 192-93.)

More polite reviewers such as C. M. Bowra and John Scott have commented upon the ripe wisdom and mellow tone of *The Challenge of the Greek*. To me, however, there are two points of much greater importance. The first is the shocking untimeliness of the opinions expressed in the book. It is this kind of thing which justifies the frequent charges of opponents of the classics that classicists live in an ivory tower. If the attitude of Dr. Glover were that of all classicists, we should rightly be labeled traditionalists, antidemocrats, and reactionaries. How the author himself can square his attitude with his statement that "one thinks of Carlyle's picture of the French Revolution in full swing while we are 'perfecting our theory of irregular verbs'" (p. 21) is hard to understand.

Fortunately, the record of British and American classicists in the present war furnishes the strongest refutation of these charges.

The second disturbing problem is not so easily solved. One may agree readily enough with Dr. Glover's polemics against sterile scholarship. There has been too much of this in the past. And, although classicists have not been the only offenders, by any means, nevertheless there have been too many exhibits of the dry bones of learning. But what is the alternative? Surely not the belletristic trivia presented in this volume. Most classical scholars of today would be incapable of matching the plethora of quotations from ancient and modern literature which Dr. Glover employs. Much of our extra-curricular reading today centers about the contemporary scene and its implications, as affected by the past and as projected toward the future. William Allan Neilson in a recent article has pointed out the pitfalls into which the classics have fallen, and he, like many others, has suggested a searching examination and courageous reformulation of our program. That this is necessary no one will deny. But the answer is not essays on "Iced Water" and "The Fairy Tale." The classics are, and must be made to appear, more dynamic and more vital.¹

EDWARD F. D'ARMS

University of Colorado

Myth and Society in Attic Drama. By ALAN M. G. LITTLE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 95+13 illus. \$1.50.

This slender and attractively produced volume offers a succinct, clear, and pleasantly written example of that sociological approach to literature which during the last few years has attained a notable vogue, especially in English studies. As for Greek, only two years

have passed since Professor Thomson's *Aeschylus and Athens*¹ appeared; and the present book proceeds from the same starting-point to similar conclusions. But, unlike its predecessor, it is unencumbered by matter irrelevant to its thesis; and, had Professor Little been content to claim that he was providing no more than a very minor contribution to the study of Greek drama, one could have criticized him only on the score of details. For there is much skill, acumen, and knowledge here; in particular, his treatment (pp. 36 ff.) of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* trilogy, though it contains little or nothing not to be found in Thomson also, merits high praise.

Unfortunately, with a remorseless and ruinous indifference to the plain intention and language of these plays, he insists or implies throughout not only that social history is both the basis and the subject of Greek drama but also that the poets meant their plays to be sociological documents. On page 4 we read:

What, then, of the original purpose of the ancient drama, and what was the social function of the Attic dramatist? This was something more than the mere representation of an action. It was the projection of social conflict hidden and disguised from modern eyes beneath the mythological form of primitive thought.

If we seek to mitigate this by a supposition that the dramatists in fact wrote as thus described without suspecting what was the real point of their plays, we are defeated by such phrases as that on page 43: "the *Oresteia* and its theme of the victory of the city-law over tribal codes." The word "theme" must mean that Aeschylus deliberately undertook to dramatize the said victory.

No one will deny that certain plays of Aristophanes—especially *Plutus*, here completely ignored—are directly and deeply concerned with sociology and economics or that such themes are known to tragedy: the *Eumenides* contains powerful support of the Areopagite council. But these discussions, as was to be expected, are perfectly explicit and intelligible even to us moderns; and to maintain that such concerns are the normal subject matter of our plays, concealed by a mythological vesture,

¹ REVIEWER'S NOTE.—This review was written several months before Professor Glover's death. The amenities of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* would seem to demand a revision of the manner and matter of the review, were it not that the increasing number of American classicists in the armed forces indicates that they, too, are voicing a protest against the aristocratic, imperialistic, and nationalistic tenets of the Tory tradition. From a sincere conviction of the value of the classics as a universally humanizing force, I append this note.

¹ Reviewed in *CP*, XXXVII (1942), 437 ff.

seems to me utterly perverse. Professor Little writes a whole chapter called "Mythology as Primitive Thought," which insists that Athenians could not understand political and social ideas unless they were called "Apollo" or "Athena" and behaved accordingly. How, then, did Athenians contrive, more than a century earlier, to follow the far more "modern" language of Solon? But to argue at any length on these lines is needless, when a *reductio ad absurdum* lies before us in the book itself; we need only note the fantastic results to which this doctrine leads when its promulgator handles the actual plays and forces the Muse into his leaden shackles. On page 44 he says:

Nor is Antigone other than a tribal heroine in a democratic age. When she insists upon fulfilling "the unwritten laws of heaven" in giving her brother burial, she is not the prototype of the eternal individual rebel against society so much as the weak defender of a code which society has outgrown; she is the eternal conservative who cherishes the past as something sacred, and will lay down her life for her convictions, for she values, in tribal terms, the meed of ceremonial due to her brother more highly than her own life.

The suicide of Ajax is "tribal" also (p. 44). In the *Choephoroe*: "Electra and Orestes are no longer individuals, but instruments of a mob passion" (p. 45). (Note, by the way, that none of the frequent allusions to the *Oresteia* so much as hints that Orestes' deed was ordered by Zeus himself.) Even the *Persae* cannot escape, for it flows "in the channels of Greek myth," because Darius is a ghost; the dragnet proves to contain Milton, of all people, because "he sought to revive the Biblical mythology" (p. 42). When we reach the fact that Sophocles, instead of composing trilogies like Aeschylus, wrote single plays, we are told (p. 43) that "the shrinkage of the form corresponds also to a shrinkage in the area of social struggle." Similarly, a (completely nonexistent) fault in the structure of *Hercules Furens* "may be a symptom of the times . . . of the disruptive forces already at work in the balance of Attic society" (p. 46). *Prometheus Vincit* itself must come into line:

This expansion of Zeus into a universal and moral good [sic: a misprint for "god"?] is a direct reflection clothed in mythological form of the gain

to morality which went with the exchange of an authority divided between tribe and society for the unified authority of city-state law [p. 41].

Nothing could be wiser, and in the present neglect of classical studies more politic, than to demonstrate the pertinence of those studies to our deepest modern concerns. But to attempt such demonstration by falsifying the finest work of ancient masters is to destroy a boon in the moment of presenting it.

GILBERT NORWOOD

University of Toronto

Schliemann's First Visit to America, 1850-51.

Edited by SHIRLEY H. WEBER. ("Gennadeion Monographs," No. II.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. ix + 111. \$2.50.

In 1850-51 Henry Schliemann, at that time an energetic young businessman living in St. Petersburg, made his first trip to America. He recorded his experiences and impressions in a diary written, for practice, in English (a few pages are in Spanish). Most of the diary was composed during the journey, but, as an Introduction, Schliemann added, after his return to Russia, a brief sketch of his life up to 1850. This diary, including the introductory part, is among the Schliemann documents deposited in the Gennadeion Library in Athens and is edited in this publication by the librarian of that institution, Dr. Shirley Weber. Dr. Weber has included a short Preface discussing the diary, Schliemann's American citizenship (records in the United States Legation at Athens show it was obtained in March, 1869, not on July 4, 1850, as Schliemann has stated in *Ilios*, p. 12), and Emil Ludwig's use of this diary in his biography of Schliemann. An index listing the proper names mentioned in the text is added.

The English of the diary, as the editor remarks, is good, and few explanatory notes were found necessary. Schliemann's approach to Panama and his stay at Sacramento in California provoked a few pages of Spanish, which have been translated by the editor into English as an appendix.

Schliemann's trip to America was undertaken with the object of making money in Cali-

fornia, which was at that time in the tumult following upon the discovery of gold. After some initial discouragement he established at Sacramento a business for the purchase of gold dust and the sale of exchange. Although Schliemann was quite successful in his business, several attacks of fever, a distaste for the conditions of life in California, and a longing for St. Petersburg prompted his return to Russia after a stay of only one year.

Schliemann gives no hint in the diary of his later passion for Greek antiquity, but he is concerned solely with a description of his travels and impressions of the United States and Panama. He sailed from Liverpool to New York; briefly visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington; then set out for California by way of the Isthmus of Panama. The hardships of his journey across the Isthmus, at that time made in large part on mule back, the tropical scenery, and the agitated, dangerous life of California are vividly described and occupy the greater part of the diary. Schliemann's impressions, while those of an intelligent and alert traveler (and one who liked very well the comforts of life), are mainly superficial and concerned to a great extent with the minutiae of his journey. Thus his record is one of observation with little analysis or reflection, and, as in the case of most travelers, his views were conditioned to some extent by his immediate circumstances. For example, in the comfort of New York, immediately after his arrival, he notes that American men "are, if properly approached, very frank and communicative, and regarding industry and assiduity, there is hardly a people on the earth's surface who surpass them." In California, however, while establishing himself in business in an unfamiliar and keenly competitive environment, he writes: "When the new arriver becomes thoroughly acquainted with the character of the californian yankees, when he sees himself surrounded by a gang of scoundrels, when he sees that all here is based on swindling, that all is abominable falsehood, fraud and humbug or in plain californian: that all is intended to 'shave'"—a verdict which recalls that of his contemporary and more prejudiced traveler "Martin Chuzzlewit."

The diary is worthy of attention for its very

readable account of the conditions of traveling and of life in California in the fifties and for the light it throws on Schliemann's own character. It shows him enthusiastic to the point of exaggeration, energetic, with a mind firmly set on its goal, but laboriously retentive of such trivia as the numbers of hotel-rooms, the prices of meals, the exact times of departure and arrival, as well as keenly observant of the scenes of a new country.

CARL ROEBUCK

Dalhousie University

Observations on the Hephaisteion. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. V.) American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1941. Pp. 171. \$5.00.

As the title indicates, this book is not a complete architectural study of the "Theseum," though an extensive bibliography of earlier work is given, but a presentation and examination of recent discoveries and of certain specific problems. Though only one name appears on the title-page, twenty pages (130-50) are written by Miss Lucy Talcott, and there is frequent reference to unpublished work by Homer Thompson.

The first thirty pages deal with the medieval tombs, of which there were fifty-three inside the temple; and with the history of the building as a Protestant cemetery from 1799 to 1821, which turns out to be a very worthy subject for archeological investigation. Then the various parts of the foundations are studied, with the evidence afforded by them for the history and structure of the temple; and several parts of the superstructure are re-examined with profit. The most notable result, for the general character of the temple, is the discovery that there were columns in the cella, apparently five on each side and one more in the middle at the back. This precise conclusion, like many others, rests on intricate calculations which will be fully checked by few. However, the author's extraordinary perspicacity and his unique competence in architectural questions are continually evident. His usual level of perspicuity is likewise attained.

One of the numerous problems is presented by the finely stippled surface of the walls. In

connection with the remarkable use of lead for waterproofing the vertical joints, this is taken to indicate that it was planned to have stucco on the walls as a surface for paintings. It is noted, however, that walls prepared for stucco in other buildings have much rougher surfaces. Is it possible that the stippling was intended for painting applied directly? If a roughened surface was desirable for the adherence of stucco, it might perhaps be supposed that a slighter roughening would be desirable for the adherence of paint. There is a difficulty in the margins left free of stippling around the edges of the blocks, but it seems that the surfaces were stippled before the blocks were put in place, and perhaps it was planned to extend the stippling over the margins in the final dressing of the walls. No traces of paint were found, or of ancient stucco either; whatever the plan, it apparently was not carried out.

To most people the two chief problems connected with the "Theseum" are those of identification and date. Dinsmoor does not discuss the former to any extent, regarding it as settled. As long as a scholar of Picard's standing insists that the building is the Eleusinion, the problem hardly seems to be nonexistent, but, indeed, there is very little room for doubt about it. As for the date, it is suggested that the temple was laid out on October 17, 449 B.C. The day depends on astronomical evidence, which is not discussed in this book and is conservatively described as "possibly tenuous"; but "with so many indications pointing in this direction, we may safely adopt 449 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the temple." It is difficult to discover any of these indications besides the astronomical. Certainly there is none in the pottery catalogued by Miss Talcott. The author several times mentions an inscription that had been dated 449 by Segre and says (p. 153) that this date is indorsed by Meritt; but in the place cited (Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 579) one finds only the notation "ca. 449." But even if the inscription were certainly dated 449, it is not clear what bearing that would have on the date of the temple, since the document merely indicates the existence of a fund belonging to Hephaistos and Athena. It does not appear that October 17, 449, has any seri-

ous claim to preference over a variety of dates in a period of three or four years. However, no date could be more suitable to the style of the sculpture, as this has always been appraised by good judges; and at least it is a much better date than the author had suggested in his revision of Anderson and Spiers.

F. P. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum.

By EDITH HALL DOHAN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. Pp. 113+56 pls. \$7.50.

This is a publication of objects that have been in the University Museum at Philadelphia since 1897, having been bought through A. L. Frothingham. They were found in twenty-two tombs at Narce and seven at or near Vulci, and the discoveries in each tomb were separately recorded. The excavations were not supervised by Frothingham or by any other recognized archeologist, and the documents are not all that might be desired; but the evidence, as carefully and fairly examined by Mrs. Dohan, indicates that the integrity of the tomb-groups is generally to be relied on.

The tombs are denoted by numbers which were used by Frothingham but are not related to the order in the book. It would have been convenient for the reader if the Table of Contents had included a list of the tombs in the order of their presentation, which is first geographical and then chronological. With this exception, the scheme of the book could hardly be improved. Everything is well illustrated; there are sixty-nine drawings in the text, in addition to the photographic illustrations on the plates. Under each tomb each object is fully described; then, for most of the things, "comparanda" are cited and succinctly discussed. Since the number of items for each tomb varies from five to sixty-five, the quantity of archeological material thus published is great. It cannot be said that the objects average very high in individual interest; but the fulness of treatment, the relative certainty of contemporaneity within each tomb-group, and the high scholarly character of the work make

the book one of highest importance for the period of the tombs.

The chronology of the tombs is discussed on pages 105-9. A number of them are found to be approximately contemporary with the Tomb of the Warrior at Tarquinii, to which Mrs. Dohan gives the late date of about 680 B.C. None of the Philadelphia series is as late as 600, and nearly all are placed in a period of thirty years, ca. 680-650. An interesting part of this discussion deals with the Bocchoris Tomb, which the author thinks is later than the Warrior Tomb by only about a decade (instead of by three generations, as Randall-MacIver thought). Battiscombe Gunn contributes a few paragraphs on Bocchoris himself, whose reign he dates about 718-712 B.C. He says that he does not know whence Karo obtained his date, 734-728, but Mrs. Dohan could have enlightened him about that; Karo (and others) got it from Schiapparelli. Whether Schiapparelli's source can be discovered I do not know; Egyptologists were perplexed by his date at least as long ago as 1903, when Alexandre Moret wrote a dissertation on Bocchoris. It appears that many Etruscologists, though attaching great importance to the Bocchoris vase, took over a date for the pharaoh which has had no acceptance among Egyptologists in the present century, if, indeed, it ever had. There is nothing of that sort in Mrs. Dohan's chronology, though it does seem pretty short.

There is a misprint in the caption of the Frontispiece, which strikes me as a poor place for a misprint. Elsewhere P. V. C. Baur's name is misspelled; this is apparently not a misprint, but a slip of minimal importance. A few other such trifles have been noted, but in general the printing and proofreading are satisfactory. The book is well designed, it lies open well, and the binding is unusually handsome.

F. P. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire. By LOUIS C. WEST. ("Numismatic Notes and Monographs," No. 94.) New York: American Numismatic Society, 1941. Pp. iv + 199. \$1.50.

The object of this monograph "is to determine the official ratio of gold and silver from an examination of the weights of all imperial gold and silver coins" (pp. 3 f.). There is presented a careful and precise analysis of the gold and silver coins of known weight, emperor by emperor, and, whenever possible, according to periods within each reign, with numerous tables that show in concise and convenient form the relationships between their number, date, and weight. Under each emperor are discussed also the relevant literary texts, any other evidence regarding prices at that time, and the views of modern scholars. All are subjected to extremely skeptical analysis, even so basic and generally accepted a statement as in Dio lv. 12 that the aureus was worth twenty-five drachmae or denarii—a text which the author has to continue to use in order to calculate a probable relationship between gold and silver.

Students of Roman imperial coinage owe the author a great deal for his collection and presentation of this evidence, which will be useful in the study of many other problems, and for his clear distinctions in an uncertain field of the bounds between certainty, probability, and possibility. One point not clearly mentioned is the reduction in weight of coins through circulation; but, in fact, it seems adequately accounted for in his constant attention to points of concentration in recorded weights and to comparison between actual and theoretical weights. In fact, the author has been as successful in his object as seems possible in the present state of the evidence.

One would like to have further discussion of the heavier standards prevailing under Domitian, the debasement of the silver coinage under Commodus, and the problems of the third century. But the author has given us a good foundation, and we look forward to the studies he plans on the coinage of Egypt and of the period of Constantine. The inscription "from Iobacchi" (p. 108) is surely a slip for "of the Iobacchi." It was found in Athens.

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

Bryn Mawr College

Aristotle's Art of Poetry. Ed. W. H. FYFE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. xxxii+82.

This brief edition of the *Poetics*, designed for the "Greekless reader," has much to commend it. The introductions to single chapters and groups of chapters often provide stimulating material for class discussion. The footnotes are frequent, brief, and usually helpful. Since there are, however, a good many translations of the *Poetics* readily available for students of literary criticism, one wonders whether it is worth while to present this much, even to Greekless readers, without presenting more. Fyfe says: "The translation here used is that of Ingram Bywater, which the editor, a Satyr to his Hyperion, has ventured to alter slightly in a few places." There are more alterations than this would imply, though most of them are unimportant. If any alterations were to be made, perhaps some of them should have been more important. Certainly the translation of 1455 a 33 should be discussed. Fyfe never seems to take Gudeman's work into account, and it is most unfortunate that a new edition intended for any audience should blithely ignore so much recent scholarship.

Fyfe's own translation in the Loeb edition is the source of several of the changes in the translation, though he fortunately does not translate φιλοσοφώτερον as "scientific" at 1451 b 5. (Incidentally the Berlin numbers would be a useful addition.) The assurance with which many generalizations are presented in the general introduction is disquieting, for example: "This recipe Aristotle produced according to his habit as a result of inductive research. Having read all the available tragedies, he formed this general conception of the appropriate hero for a tragic story" (p. xxiv). This may all be so, but Fyfe presents neither evidence nor argument to prove it. He also knows (p. 15) that Plato "was more emotional than Aristotle." Again, this may be true; but the method is likely to confuse interpretation by substituting assumption for observation. On page 55 Fyfe says: "It is hard to believe that Aristotle, while very properly exhorting us to 'pass over this,' should at once proceed to perpetrate Chapter 20." This is apparently the basis for the statement on page 53 that chapter 20 "is probably an interpolation."

Many of Fyfe's observations on what seems to be Aristotle's failure to realize that in genuine poetry the diction is fused with the thought and feeling will strike a sympathetic chord in many readers; but it is clear that here, as in the treatment of catharsis and the development of the form of tragedy, Fyfe has identified Aristotle as a modern biologist and proceeded to interpret the *Poetics* on that basis. κάθαρσις is so definitely a "purge" (p. xvii) that one is disposed to worry about the emotional state of the Athenians during the long months when there were no festivals "to keep their emotions in good working order."

It is quite right to stress the practical aim of the *Poetics*, but to overstress this aspect is to ignore other elements in the document and to oversimplify one's interpretation.

F. R. B. GODOLPHIN

Princeton University

Tiberius and the Roman Empire. By CHARLES EDWARD SMITH. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1942. Pp. v+281.

The defense of adding one more to the many lives of Tiberius is given by the author in the Preface (p. iii), where, after acknowledging the value of Marsh's *The Reign of Tiberius* (1931) and of the studies of Charlesworth in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1934) and of M. Gelzer in the *Real-Encyclopädie* (1917), he writes:

Yet few topics in ancient history offer wider opportunities for the exercise of judgment on questions of emphasis and interpretation or present more critical problems in the use of ancient authorities. Many of the most controversial issues cannot be definitively settled by the utilization of epigraphical or numismatic evidence and, hence, continue to engender interpretative variation.

The reader of this book has throughout the feeling that it is a fresh treatment of Tiberius and of the Roman Empire during his reign. A striking instance of independence is the writer's view, against Marsh and Charlesworth, that Drusus, the son of Tiberius, died a natural death; that Apicata's "charges were simply the act of a woman who had every reason to feel vindictive" (pp. 122-23). Good judgment is shown in Smith's conclusion on the Piso ap-

pointment. After an excellent summarization of Piso's background and character he writes: "Yet, knowing Piso as he [Tiberius] doubtless did, his appointment of such a man to the Syrian governorship was a blunder of tragic proportions. The only alternative to such a verdict is to hold that he deliberately sacrificed the interests of the state in the hope of discrediting Germanicus" (p. 88). There is abundant evidence, in the fourteen pages of Bibliography and the many and extensive footnotes, that the writer has made himself familiar with the voluminous literature of his subject. Indeed, probably the greatest value of the book will be for less advanced students of Tiberius, who will use it as an introduction to the literature. But scholars in the field will at least have to consult Smith's opinion on this and that point. There is an adequate index.

A few suggestions and criticisms may be in place. The use of "Teutoberg Wood" and "Agrippa Posthumus" bothered the reviewer. "I bequeathed the direction of public affairs from my power to that of the Roman people" (p. 4) is little more than a paraphrase of the Latin (*Mon. Ancy.* c. 34): "rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populique Romani arbitrium transtuli." The statement (p. 3) that in 23 B.C. Augustus "received investment with tribunician powers" leaves the impression that he had not previously been voted some of the powers of a tribune. Sulla's famous law is called the *Lex sicariis* (p. 109). *Infra* is incorrectly used a number of times for *supra*, which is never used.

C. H. OLDFATHER

University of Nebraska

The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian (A.D. 180-305). By LAURENCE LEE HOWE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xiii+141. \$2.00.

As the author points out in his Introduction, there has long been a tendency among scholars to repeat what their predecessors have said about the pretorian prefects, and the assumption that from the end of the second century the prefects became purely judicial functionaries has become all but universal. The recent works of Marcel Durry (Paris, 1938) and Al-

fredo Passerini (Rome, 1939) mark a reaction against older views and also provide what has long been needed—a new and detailed treatment of the pretorian cohorts and the prefecture. Durry's book, however, concerns itself mainly with the cohorts, while Passerini keeps a more even balance between two closely allied topics. Mr. Howe is, however, justified in his contention that Passerini's monograph, though of great value, has certain marked defects, for instance, faulty chronology and a tendency to substitute dogmatic assertion for full discussion of controversial points. He himself has wisely in a first book limited himself to the third century, which not only presents special problems but which is the period least adequately handled by Passerini.

Mr. Howe's dissertation is made up of five brief chapters (pp. 1-64), a list of pretorian prefects from A.D. 180 to 305 (pp. 65-95), and discussions of eight special problems (pp. 96-123), for example, the trial of Apollonius, the supposed prefecture of Julius Paulus, and the value of the *Augustan History* for a study of the prefecture in the third century. The main thesis of the book is well presented. Mr. Howe makes it clear that the prefects after the age of the Severi, so far from being primarily or predominantly jurists of eminence, often, on the contrary, held important military commands or governed extensive territories as the emperor's representatives or even as regents of young rulers. The prefect by that time had extensive military, administrative, and judicial duties; naturally, in the troubled years between Septimius Severus' death and the accession of Diocletian, military responsibilities usually took precedence over the others. Inscriptions show that the heavy burden resting on the prefects necessitated the frequent appointment of vice-prefects, who presumably carried on the prefects' judicial and administrative work whenever the prefects were absent from the capital city. Mr. Howe's list of prefects includes sixty-six or sixty-seven about whom there is no doubt, nine who are doubtful, and thirty-eight whom he rejects. Most of these last are "phantoms" from the *Augustan History*. The Select Bibliography at the end is satisfactory, except that Mr. Howe does not give accurate information about Hirschfeld's two books. He merely

records a first and a second edition of the *Verwaltungsgeschichte*. But the so-called second edition was not only substantially different in content but appeared with a new title, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*. Mr. Howe should have listed it as a separate book. The proofreading, especially of foreign words and names, might have been better.¹

Mr. Howe shows a thorough mastery over his often intractable source material, and his narrative is clear and convincing. In short, his dissertation is a very competent piece of work, which leads one to hope that he will have opportunity for undertaking further researches in Roman imperial history.

M. L. W. LAISTNER

Cornell University

Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul.

By NORMAN J. DEWITT. Dissertation, Johns Hopkins, 1938. Lancaster, Pa., 1940. Pp. 72. \$1.00.

This interesting dissertation contains three chapters: "The Policies of Caesar and Augustus in Gaul," "Old and New Towns in Roman Gaul" (with an index of Gallic towns), and "The Enfranchisement of Individuals in Roman Gaul" (with an index of Julii). On a subject on which so much work has been done as on Roman Gaul a study of this nature must become largely an essay in interpretation and is doubly difficult because it is concerned with some of the most fundamental problems of Roman imperial policy. The author as a whole has done well, though the correlation of conclusions with material from the rest of the Empire has largely been left to the reader. He correctly emphasizes the preservation of Gallic elements, such as the use of the tribal *civitas* as the basis for local government (p. 6). With re-

gard to the many *coloniae* that were not regular Roman colonies, he accepts the theory of Keune "that *colonia* designates the chief town or capital of a Gallic *civitas*" (p. 21). The rather bold theory that *colonia* reproduces the Celtic *-dunum* (pp. 22 f.) is his own. This deserves consideration; but, if it is to be accepted, it would seem necessary to have clearer proof that *colonia* was applied also to other towns besides tribal capitals. Otherwise it seems safer to doubt that the word could be used so loosely and rather to believe that the designation of *colonia* for tribal capitals, if it goes back to Augustus, was an honor bestowed upon them by the emperor. The use of the tribal name—e.g., *Colonia Treverorum*—would serve to distinguish such cities from Roman colonies and, at the same time, suggest a relation between Gallic and Roman institutions. Also in connection with the *concilium* of the three Gauls (pp. 14 ff.) there may be a slight exaggeration of the Gallic elements, though here DeWitt has as great a scholar as Hirschfeld on his side. Undoubtedly there was a consideration of Gallic institutions, but the *concilium* differed from the pan-Gallic meetings of the Druids (Caesar *BG* vi. 13. 8-10) not only in the place of meeting but also in having an annually elected *sacerdos* instead of a high priest with life-tenure. As to the *concilia* of the Gauls mentioned by Caesar, these seem to have been called at irregular intervals and do not seem to have involved a permanent organization. The meetings later summoned by Caesar himself should be distinguished from them. More important, however, is the fact that, when the *concilium* is studied in connection with other assemblies, it is seen to have had exactly the form we should expect if there had been no Gallic influence. The assembly was like that of a Hellenistic federal state, consisting of elected representatives, but with one new feature common in western *concilia*: former high priests were members for life. Gallic influence is probably to be seen chiefly in the organization of a single assembly for three provinces. These are important points, but it should not be held against the author that he happens to disagree with some of the pet views of the reviewer.

J. A. O. LARSEN

University of Chicago

¹ Heron (pp. 1 and 126) should be Héron, and the eminent Bollandist's name was "Delehaye" not "De-lahaye" (pp. 95 and 125). *Das Insignien* (p. 13, n. 15) should be *das Insigne*; *concilium* (p. 35) should be *consilium*; and *incomparabilem* (p. 76) should be *incomparabilem*. *La droit* (p. 126) and *Marsailles* (p. 140) are as disturbing as three wrong breathings in a line and a half of Greek (p. 110, n. 62). *Καυαίποιοι*, *Καυαίποιοι* are wrongly printed (pp. 99 and 141) with paroxytone accents, while the accents on *απάριετος* and *βαυβία* (pp. 19 and 141) are printed grave instead of acute. For *Romanus* (p. 125) read *Romani*.

Studies in Colloquial Exaggeration in Roman Comedy. By MARY KATHRYN GLICK. (Dissertation, University of Chicago.) Chicago: Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1941. Pp. iii+140.

The author deals almost exclusively with verbs, in which she distinguishes two types of exaggeration, that which merely exaggerates (e.g., *perii* for *actumst de me*) and that which involves metaphor as well (e.g., *cibum contruncare* for *cibum comedere*). She attempts to establish for a given verb its literal meaning by citation from the linguistic literature (Walde and Hofmann, Ernout and Meillet, Lindsay, the *Thesaurus*, et al.), and then, by painstaking description of the context, she describes the hyperbole which has been employed. There is an inevitable residue of subjectivity of which Miss Glick is quite aware, for it is not always possible to determine whether the verb used is in its literal sense or whether exaggeration for a less colorful word has been employed. Furthermore, many words, it is well known, lost their literal sense even before Plautus and are used by him regularly in a figurative sense but without any sense of exaggeration. The author's rule of thumb by which such problems are resolved, in so far as they can be, is the assumption that there was greater conscious-

ness of the force of a given term whose figurative and exaggerated sense is less frequent (p. 4), e.g., *insanum*, which never became as colorless as the English adverb "awfully." On such a basis an uncomfortable feeling of uncertainty will pervade the reader's mind as he passes through the shades of meaning and wonders just where hyperbole really begins. That there is equal uncertainty in the author's mind is shown by the frequency of such expressions as "seems to show exaggeration," "probably," and "much the same as." The study offers no conclusions other than the well-known fact that Plautus indulged in these types of comic effect more than did Terence and that the type employing both hyperbole and metaphor is more common than simple exaggeration. References to other examples in footnotes appended to discussions of typical usages and a convenient index of verbs will be useful to any student of colloquial Latin who may desire to check such usages without wading through irrelevant references in the Indexes of Plautus and Terence. The verbs are treated according to the range of human or natural activity which they express, and a summary gives a good picture of the different types of activity from which the comic poets drew their hyperbolic material.

JOHN N. HOUGH

Ohio State University

BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Books submitted are not returnable.]

-
- AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS. *Corinth*, Vol. VII, Part 1: *The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*. By SAUL S. WEINBERG. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943. Pp. xiv+104+45 pls.
- BALOGH, ELEMÉR. *Political Refugees in Ancient Greece from the Period of the Tyrants to Alexander the Great*. With the collaboration of F. M. HEICHELHEIM. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1943. Pp. xvi+134. 7/6.
- EHRENBERG, VICTOR. *The People of Aristophanes: A Sociology of Old Attic Comedy*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1943. Pp. xii+320. 25s.
- FRITSCH, CHARLES T. *The Anti-anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch*. ("Princeton Oriental Texts," Vol. X.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943. Pp. viii+81. \$2.00.
- Hermathena*, No. LXI (May, 1943). Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.; London: Longmans, Green & Co. 3s.
- MCDONALD, WILLIAM A. *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*. ("The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," No. 34.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. xx+308+19 pls. \$5.00.
- PRITCHETT, W. KENDRICK. *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes*. (Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1942.) Baltimore, 1943. Pp. 39.
- ROGERS, ROBERT SAMUEL. *Studies in the Reign of Tiberius: Some Imperial Virtues of Tiberius and Drusus Julius Caesar*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943. Pp. x+181. \$2.25.
- ROSENTHAL, FRANCISCUS, and WALZER, RICHARDUS (eds.). *Alfarabius: De Platonis philosophia*. ("Plato Arabus" [ed. Richardus Walzer], Vol. II ["Corpus Platonium medii aevi" (ed. Raymundus Klibansky)].) London: Warburg Institute, 1943. Pp. xxii+30+24. 18/-.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXVIII

aes equestre 132

aes hordearium 132

Apollo and Sol 137, 261

Ara Pietatis Augustae 240

Arcadian dialect 191

archostatai 177, 247

Athens, history 20, 223

Book Reviews:

Agard: *What Democracy Meant to the Greeks* (Welles) 206

Amyx: *An Amphora with a Price Inscription in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon* (Johnson) 76

van Berchem: *Les Distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire* (Loane) 153

Bloch and Trager: *Outline of Linguistic Analysis* (Whatmough) 210

Cook: *Zeus*, Vol. III (Noek) 51

Cooper (trans.): *Plato. On the Trial and Death of Socrates* (Dunkel) 74

Day: *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (Blake) 217

De Lacy, P. H. and E. A. (eds. and trans.): *Philodemus: On Methods of Inference* (DeWitt) 216

Dewing (trans.): *Procopius, Buildings*, Vol. VII (Roebuck) 151

DeWitt: *Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul* (Larsen) 278

Dinsmoor: *Observations on the Hephaisteion* (Johnson) 273

Dohan: *Italic Tomb-Groups in the University Museum* (Johnson) 274

Fitzgerald (trans.): *Sophocles, Oedipus at Colonus* (Lind) 155

Freeman: *The Excavation of a Roman Temple at Corinth* (Roebuck) 70

von Fritz: *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy* (Minar) 62

Fyfe (ed.): *Aristotle's Art of Poetry* (Godolphin) 276

Glick: *Studies in Colloquial Exaggeration in Roman Comedy* (Hough) 279

Glover: *The Challenge of the Greek* (D'Arms) 269

Godolphin (ed.): *The Greek Historians* (Larsen) 211

Goodspeed: *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Laistner) 61

Guinagh and Dorjahn: *Latin Literature in Translation* (White) 212

Highbarger: *The Gates of Dreams* (Pease) 60

Howe: *The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian (A.D. 180-305)* (Laistner) 277

Hudson (trans.): *The Praise of Folly by Desiderius Erasmus* (Born) 217

Laistner (ed.): *Bedae Venerabilis Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio* (McGuire) 208

Leonard and Smith (eds.): *T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex* (De Lacy) 268

Little: *Myth and Society in Attic Drama* (Norwood) 271

Livingstone (ed.): *Plato: Selected Passages* (Dunkel) 74

Mendell: *Our Seneca* (Pratt) 144

Murray (trans.): *Demosthenes: Private Orations*, Vol. II (Dorjahn) 221

Nachmanson: *Der griechische Buchtitel* (Diller) 77

Nilsson: *Greek Popular Religion* (Smith) 72

Pearson: *The Local Historians of Attica* (Swain) 207

Petzold: *Die Eröffnung des zweiten römisch-makedonischen Krieges* (Larsen) 58

Pritchett and Meritt: *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Dow) 146

Rand: *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Laistner) 265

Riemschneider: *Held und Staat in Euripides' Phönissen* (Dunkel) 218

Robinson: *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part X (Davidson) 150

Robinson, Albright, and Angel: *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part XI (Johnson) 220

Ryberg: *An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B.C.* (Robinson) 140

Sacks: *The Latinity of Dated Documents in the Portuguese Territory* (Bonfante) 67

Sbordone (ed.): *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica* (Edgerton) 73

Schläpfer: *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Staatsurkunden und den Amphiktyonenbeschlüssen der Demosthenischen Kranzrede* (Dunkel) 155

- Setton: *Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century* (Swain) **156**
 Smith: *Tiberius and the Roman Empire* (Oldfather) **276**
 Starr: *The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 B.C.—A.D. 324* (Thomas) **148**
 Stoessel: *Apollonios Rhodios* (Duckworth) **75**
 Sutton and Rackham (trans.): *Cicero: De oratore, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoria* (Ullman) **262**
 Tait: *Philodemus' Influence on the Latin Poets* (De Lacy) **219**
 Thomas (trans.): *Selections Illustrating the History of Greek Mathematics, Vol. II* (Gould) **214**
 Walbank: *Philip V of Macedon* (Larsen) **56**
 Weber (ed.): *Schliemann's First Visit to America, 1850–51* (Roebuck) **272**
 Wersdörfer: *Die φιλοσοφία des Isokrates im Spiegel ihrer Terminologie* (Murphy) **69**
 West: *Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire* (Broughton) **275**
 Wistrand: *Der Instrumentalis als Kasus der Anschauung im Lateinischen* (Whatmough) **66**
Yale Classical Studies, Vol. VII (Boyce) **64**
 Books received **78, 158, 222, 280**
bucca, meaning and etymology **94**
captivus redemptus **159**
 Delphi, Delphic Amphictyony, administration of justice **1**
 Demon of Paeania **39**
dikaiodotes **188, 254**
 Epictetus, ethical system **112**
epidosis **183**
 Erichthonius, myth of **28**
 Euripides, *Medea* 38–43, **33**
 gladiatorial combats **185**
 Greek inscriptions, Athenian tribute lists **20, 223**;
TAM, II, 508, **177, 246**; *IGR*, III, 736 **248**;
 Arcadian inscription **191**
 Greek law **1**
 Greek philosophy **112**
 Greek religion **39**
 Homer, *νόος* and *νοεῖν* in **79**
 Hyginus, text of **126**
iuridicus **188**
 Livy, his *Palavinitas* **44, 205**; in art **240**
 Longinus *Περὶ ὁφους* 33. 4, discussed **256**
 Lycia, Lycian League **177, 246**
 Meleager, notes on **200, 260**
 Menander, influence **202**
 Milton, classical allusions **259**
 Nepos, concept of *fortuna* in **48**
νοεῖν, in Homer **79**
νόος, in Homer **79**
ορθοτομέω, meaning in II Tim. 2:15 **204**
 painting, Chinese, Roman influence on **13**
παρέφηβος, meaning **45**
 Pastoral Epistles, classical influence on **202, 204**
 Petronius, *Sat.* 64, discussed **94**
 Pindar, *Nemean* 3. 28 f. **138**
 Plato, influence **260**
 proverbs, Greek, influence **259**
 Roman army **132**
 Roman games **94, 134**
 Roman law **159**
 Roman religion, role of Fortuna **48**; Apollo and Sol **137**
 Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, ellipsis of verb in **46**
 Sol, relation to Apollo **137, 261**
taurobolia **184**
 Theocritus, Longinus' criticism of **256**
triplex stipendium **132**
 Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 161–215 discussed **137, 261**; medieval lives **103**; influence on Suetonius **261**
zenokritai **186, 187, 188, 249**

204

and

16

me-
1